A Journal of Media History

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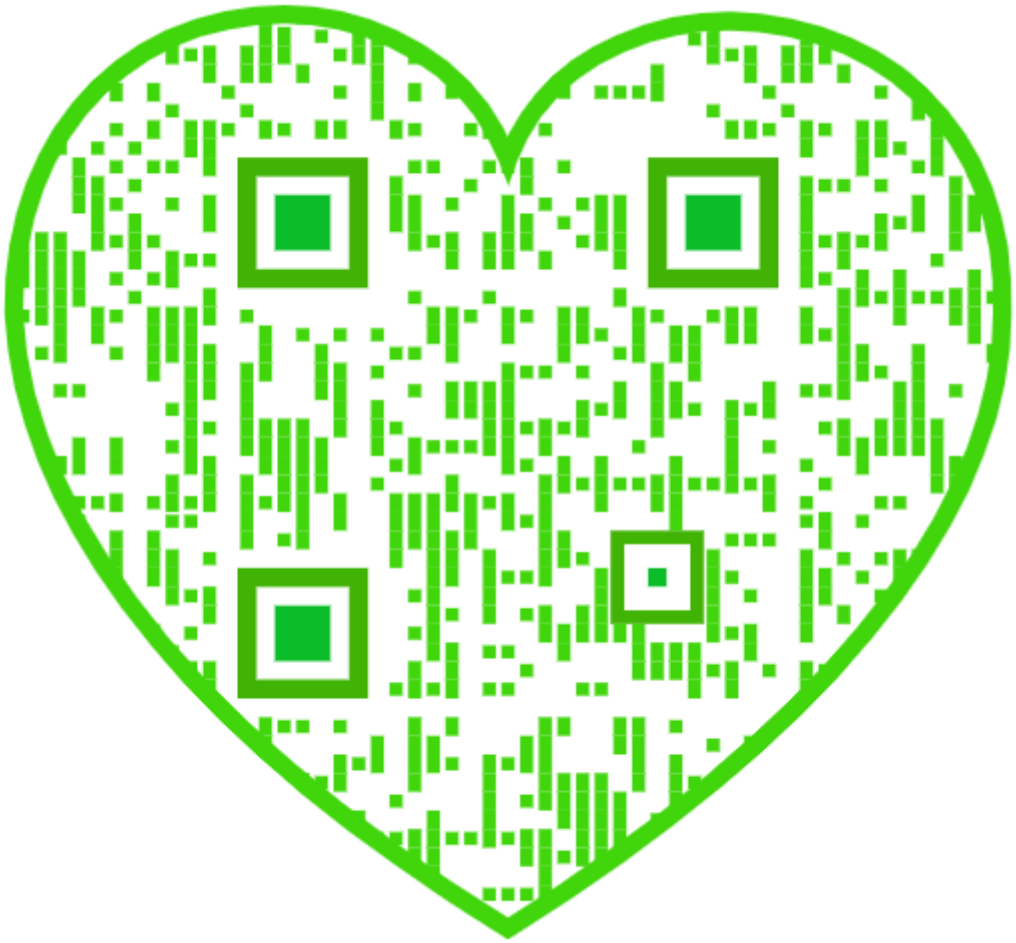

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American Journalism publishes articles, book reviews and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history; and new ideas and methods for the teaching of media history. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews.

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Editor's Note

Touchstones from the Last 100 Years

As the 21st century approaches, the authors in this issue of *American Journalism* offer a panoramic view of the 20th century and a vast variety of topics.

Michael Brown travels to outer space to explain how turn-of-the-century astronomers used the new invention of photography to refute and support existing theories about the planet Mars. "The camera is the most accurate of all reporters," wrote one journalist, "and it is, at the same time, the biggest liar."

World War II radio journalism is the focus of Chris W. Allen's story of broadcaster Jack Shelley, who covered the action overseas for station WHO in Des Moines, Iowa. As a "Joe Blow" reporter, Shelley knew his audience, looking for anyone even remotely connected to Iowa to include in his reports. Along with well-known reporters Edward R. Murrow and William Shirer, local radio reporters like Jack Shelley offered listeners an "intimacy . . . that no other medium could," says Allen.

The evolving role of the nation's First Ladies is being particularly debated this year, as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced her run for U.S. Senate, a first for the country. Myra Gregory Knight focuses on an earlier breakthrough made by First Lady Betty Ford in 1974 when she went public with her struggle with breast cancer. Knight directly credits Ford with opening up the national dialogue about women's health issues and the need for straightforward information about the consequences of the disease.

Evolution in the method of scholarship about woman suffrage publications occupies Elizabeth V. Burt. She explains that, in the last quarter of the 20th century, studies about woman suffrage publications have moved beyond traditional analysis. Recent scholars tend to use rhetorical analysis and social movement theory to analyze the dynamics within the woman suffrage movement, says Burt. Reflecting on recent calls for scholars to extend their research to issues of gender and ethnicity, Burt reminds readers about the importance of the topic to "anyone interested in the concepts of a pluralistic, democratic nation."

In her Presidential Address, delivered at the American Journalism Historians Assocation 1999 Convention in Portland, Oregon, (and reprinted here) President Jean Palmegiano suggests an agenda for the association in the next century and, in this issue's Great Ideas section,

Tamara K. Baldwin reflects on the "Great Ideas" about teaching media history she received from her colleagues at the Portland meeting.

David Spencer offers his usual interesting mix of book reviews. This issue's Editor's Choice (*Lessons from the Past: Journalists' Lives and Work 1850 - 1950*) is familiar to many AJHA members because the book's author, Fred Fedler, has presented provocative portions of his research-in-progress about journalists at various AJHA meetings. Reviews of other important scholarship by AJHA members Jean Palmegiano and Jay Jernigan round out an impressive collection of new titles in media history.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

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The following back issues of *American Journalism* are available at the cost of $3 per issue ($6 per combined issue):

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Imagining Mars: A Case Study in Photographic Realism

By Michael Brown

Scholars interested in the use of photography during the late 19th century have called for researchers to map out the debates that gave rise to the evidential power of photography. This article examines the struggle to control photographic evidence as astronomers attempted to produce the first clear photographs of Mars. The discussion was published in popular and scientific magazines and provides a way to examine the rising evidential power of photography.

In 1893 *Scientific American* reported that photography was becoming an important new source of evidence for the courts, and by 1908 claimed a photograph revealed "everything the observer sees, and more than everything."[1] *Scientific American's* comments reflected a growing interest in the use of photography to provide evidence and visual documentation. Magazine articles described the use of photography to create foreign identification certificates, to improve business operations and scientific observation, and to leave authentic historical documents for future generations.[2] In 1900 *World's Work* summarized the evidential power of photography: "As a recorder of the facts it is of great scientific value, for it cannot lie, and it records in an unmistakable form every detail presented."[3]

Audiences of the late 19th century were convinced of photography's "skill at offering evidence and authentication," and photography emerged as a powerful and effective way to provide understandable, verifiable visual information that was shared through the magazines.[4] In 1907

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Harper's Weekly described commercial or news photography as an emerging profession whose practitioners were willing to risk their lives to record the world's events and share them with the press. These photographers refused to alter their work because, as one photographer remarked, "then it would hardly be *the real thing*."

Journalism historians have discussed this use of photography primarily in the context of photojournalism and documentary photography.[5] These discussions have provided valuable insight concerning the evidential and documentary power of photography for journalism; however, many other uses of photography in the magazines during this period have not been explored, particularly during the formative years at the turn of the century when the evidential power of photography was first expressed.

Beginning in the 1890s photographs were used in magazines by a variety of people who wished to share their visual evidence. Journalism historians have recently called for researchers to expand their perspectives and broaden their understanding of the relationship between journalism and American culture, and the images in popular magazines have proven to be valuable for historical research.[6] The use of photographs in American magazines provides an opportunity to examine more closely the developing evidential power of photography and the role of American magazines in presenting the discussions to a broad audience.

Photographs As Evidence

Although there was a great deal of faith expressed concerning the evidential power of photography, there was also little doubt about its potential for misuse. A news photographer from New York eloquently expressed the tension: "The camera is the most accurate of all reporters . . . and it is, at the same time, the biggest liar."[7] Photographs could be altered and were influenced by the photographers and organizations that produced and used them. For most historians the evidential power of photography was not in the photograph itself but in the way it was used as a part of institutional and social discourse.[8] For the photographs to serve as evidence, they had to be shared and discussed. Magazines at the turn of the century provided a site where this could be accomplished.

Like other cultural documents, photographs are interpreted and "the proof of the picture was in the reading."[9] Cultural critic John Tagg argues that during the last part of the 19th century the evidential power of photography was created and institutionalized through a hotly contested struggle for control and was used by many institutions as a way to maintain power and control over the people within their domain. This observation prompted Tagg, and other scholars interested in photography, to

call for researchers to "map out" the debates that have "produced, argued for, and institutionalized" the evidential power of photography.[10]

This article maps out the intersection of two visual communities influenced by the evidential force of photography: astronomy and magazines. By the early 1900s both used photography to produce images of the real, physical world. The photographs allowed magazines to bring pictures of the world into our homes, and the photograph provided astronomy important visual data and modern scientific credibility. In both cases photography supplied "real" but mediated experiences for their respective audiences.

Magazines Foster Mars Debate

The two communities met when the magazines reported astronomers' attempts to produce the first clear photographs of Mars. At the heart of the discussion were the photographs astronomers used to provide evidence that canals existed on Mars, offering potential proof of the existence of life. Astronomers argued the meaning of the photographic evidence, and magazines distributed the conversations across America.

Between 1877 and 1912 over 300 magazine articles discussed the canals and the implications of their existence. The bulk of the articles appeared between 1895 and 1910 and appeared in a wide variety of magazines, including *Atlantic Monthly*, *Catholic World*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Current Literature*, *Independent*, *Nation*, *Nature*, *Popular Science*, *Scientific American*, and a host of others. The articles revealed astronomy's struggle to produce, argue for, and institutionalize the photograph as a source of evidence. The discussions occurred during astronomy's transformation from a science dominated by direct visual experiences to one dominated by mediated images, particularly photographs, and provide an insightful view of the emerging evidential force of photography.

The authority of the visual system as a reliable, accurate way of producing real images was being undermined at a time when photography was promising detailed images that were preserved and apparently free from human intervention and the flaws of human vision. As an ancient visual science, astronomy had followed a long tradition of using hand-drawn images to illustrate observations. The visual system was the primary means of data collection and hand-produced images were entered into scientific records as evidence. However, by the late 1870s a "new astronomy" was defined by its use of photography. Photographs of the corona of the sun taken during an eclipse in 1878 proved far superior to the hand-produced images of the same eclipse. Photography captured nebulae that were too faint to see with the naked eye and asteroids which

appeared as streaks across film. Photography also provided an instantaneous image and a permanent record. For many astronomers, freehand drawing "received its death blow at that time."[11]

Although photography provided useful scientific evidence for astronomers, the planetary sciences continued to use visual observation as the primary method of gathering data.[12] However, Mars was difficult to observe because its distance from earth was at the threshold of our ability to see detail. Powerful new telescopes magnified the atmospheric disturbances that made "good seeing" difficult, and rivers of air and turbulence allowed only moments of clarity for observers. "Hence it is almost impossible to sketch a planet like Mars, the image seen in the telescope being ever undulating, tremulous, and indistinct."[13]

The best opportunities to view Mars were during "favorable oppositions."[14] An opposition occurs when the earth is positioned directly between the sun and Mars and the sun illuminates the surface of Mars. A favorable opposition occurs approximately every 15 years when the sun is closest to Mars. Astronomers looked forward to favorable oppositions as the most opportune time to observe Mars. Favorable oppositions provided the foundation for observing, gathering, and organizing information about Mars. Favorable oppositions occurred in 1877, 1892, 1907 and 1909 during the same period that photography was gaining evidential power.

Tracing the Canals of Mars

Popular interest in Mars was sparked in 1877 when astronomer Giovanni Schiaparelli of Italy produced a map of Mars that included a number of water channels he called "canali." Through the 1880s he continued to observe and draw Mars and the canals became straighter, and in some cases appeared to "geminate" or run in pairs across the planet's surface. This discovery of potentially engineered canals on Mars aroused both scientific and popular interest in the planet.[15] In particular, Schiaparelli's work drew the attention of Percival Lowell, a graduate of Harvard who specialized in mathematics and English composition. By the late 1800s, Schiaparelli's eyesight was failing and Lowell was determined to continue his observations.

In 1894 Lowell built the Lowell Observatory in Flagstaff, Arizona, specifically to observe Mars and amassed over 900 drawings during the opposition of 1894. In 1895 he began publishing the results of his work. In a series of four articles in *Atlantic Monthly*, Lowell described Mars as a barren but earth-like planet dying of thirst. "Irrigation, and upon as vast a scale as possible, must be the all-engrossing Martian pursuit."[16] Lowell believed that man "is destined to find any number of cousins scattered

through space,"[17] and the first of those cousins were Martians desperately digging canals to distribute the planet's meager water supplies.

In 1902 Lowell published an article in *Popular Science* that described the progress of "areography," the traditional art of observing and drawing planetary surfaces. According to Lowell there were three distinct "epochs" in the areography of Mars. First was the pre-Schiaparelli period, second was Schiaparelli's work, and third was "what we have learned since." This third epoch was a thinly disguised reference to his work at Flagstaff. Lowell claimed the progress of visual observation was evident in the sequence of maps produced during each epoch, "each has been at once a review and an advance."[18] Lowell's own maps of Mars showed geometrically precise canals that intersected at spots or "oasis," suggesting population centers (**Figure 1**). Lowell's progress of areography rested on the traditional assumption that expert observation produced accurate images.

Photographs of Mars taken in the early 1890s failed to produce a useful image because the film was too coarse and the image of Mars too small and faint to reproduce.[19] In 1905 the Lowell Observatory claimed to produce the first successful photographs of Mars. Although the images were grainy and less than an eighth-inch in diameter, Lowell claimed they proved the canals existed. The photographs were published in *Scientific American*, accompanied by one of Lowell's drawings of Mars. The purpose of the drawing was to clarify the information represented in the photographs. Lowell concluded, "The astronomical importance of this feat of photographing the canals can hardly be overestimated."[20]

Lowell offered the photographs as evidence of the superiority of the visual system for gathering scientific data. "The photographs have so far revealed only about 40 canals and four or five oases," while observers at Flagstaff had recorded over 100 canals and dozens of oases. Lowell claimed that both the drawings and photographs recorded major features, but the drawings revealed a greater level of detail.[21]

Many astronomers were intrigued by Lowell's observations and began to report their own observation of the canals. However, for some scientists the idea of intelligent engineers building canals on Mars was too outrageous to accept. Most astronomers believed some form of life existed on Mars, but few readily accepted Lowell's vision. Some suggested that the intelligent engineering was being performed on the terrestrial side of the telescope and offered alternative explanations for the canals,[22] including meteor scars, fissures in the planet's crust, islands or mountain chains, and "optical delusions."[23]

The optical illusion hypothesis gained the most attention as an alternative explanation for canals. In 1901 astronomer M. A. Orr suggested the canals were groups of close objects "and from our inability to

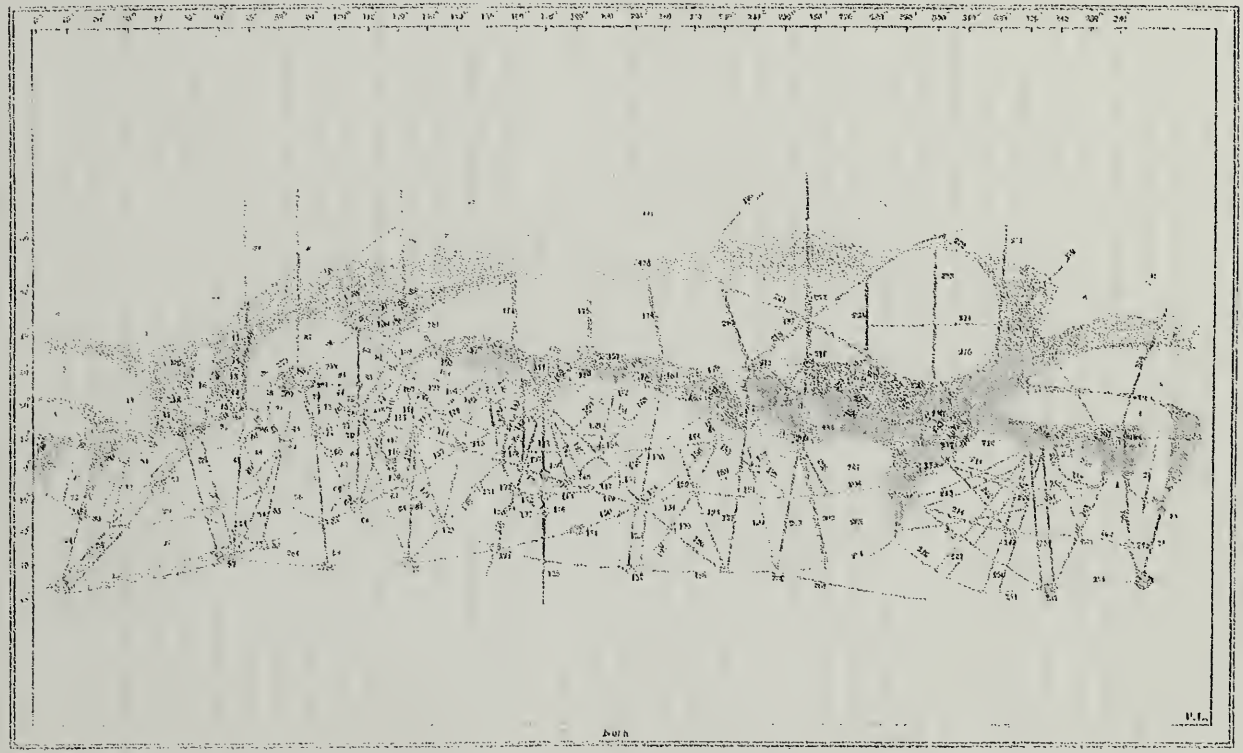


Figure 1 — Percival Lowell's early map of Mars.

see the irregularity of their grouping, will appear as round spots or long streaks."[24] Astronomers performed experiments that confirmed Orr's observations, and the "canaliform illusion" hypothesis gained supporters. E. Maunder, an astronomer at the Greenwich Observatory, conducted an experiment that supported the illusion hypothesis and concluded, "To have been set free from the grotesque in observation is to have been freed also from the grotesque in speculation."[25]

Although there were opposing interpretations of the canals, astronomers agreed a clear photograph of the surface of Mars would resolve the argument. Unfortunately vast improvements were needed in photographic techniques before such evidence could be produced.[26] Astronomers anticipated the favorable oppositions of 1907 and 1909 to further study and photograph the planet's surface.[27]

Lowell prepared scientific and popular audiences for the 1907 opposition by unleashing a flurry of publications that included several magazine articles, a two-volume summary of observations called the "Annals of the Lowell Observatory," and two books, *Mars and Its Canals* and *Evolution of the Planets*. He claimed to be the most skilled and experienced observer of Mars and to possess the proof in his 1905 photographs. His prolific volume of work led one reviewer to call him "the most indefatigable observer" of Mars.[28]

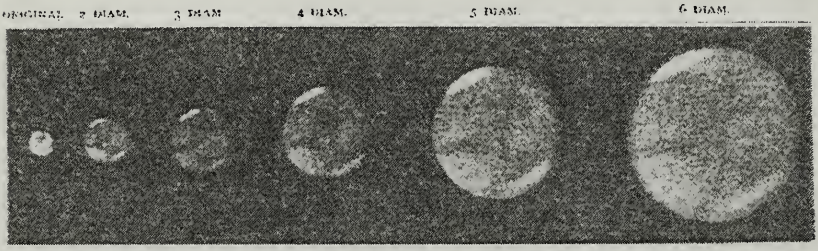
Lowell Argues His Case

The best viewing of Mars during the 1907 opposition was in the southern hemisphere, so Lowell sent a team of observers to the Andes Mountains in Peru. The expedition leader was Professor David Todd of the Amherst Observatory who brought the Amherst telescope. A planetary camera specifically designed for the expedition was mounted to the telescope to produce photographs. Two weeks after their initial observations, Lowell reported that the expedition had successfully photographed canals; they were now "established beyond doubt."[29] More than 8,000 individual photographs of Mars were taken during the expedition.[30] According to Lowell, his observations, along with the photographic evidence, revealed a "prophecy fulfilled" and fully supported his intelligent engineer hypothesis.[31]

Late in 1907 the photographic images of Mars were published in popular magazines beginning with "Professor Todd's Own Story of the Mars Expedition" in *Cosmopolitan*. Todd proclaimed, "Nearly everybody who went to the eyepiece saw canals; and once I fancied I heard even the bats, as they winged their flight down the pampa, crying, 'canali, canali, canali.'" Todd explained that the mission of the expedition was to get the

best possible photographs of Mars and prove the existence of canals. Unfortunately the photographs lacked detail and Todd concluded the expedition was "a rehearsal for 1909."[32]

Lowell published the expedition photographs in *Century Magazine* and explained to his readers that the published images were "three removes" from the original and a loss of detail occurred at every step (The negative yielded a print, the print yielded a half-tone plate, and the half-tone plate yielded an impression on magazine paper). Lowell cautioned readers that a magnifying glass would not help them see the canals because magnification actually decreased the resolution by exposing the individual grains of the image. Lowell demonstrated the effect in one of the illustrations for the article (**Figure 2**). Successive loss of detail was clearly visible with each enlargement, and Lowell claimed this proved that the visual system produced a finer level of detail than photography. Lowell also included his drawings of Mars with the article. The drawings were printed larger than the photographs, showed more detail, and were intended to help readers translate the inferior photographic images published in the magazines.[33]



No. 5 ORIGINAL SIZE, AND SINGLE IMAGE ENLARGED TO VARIOUS DIAMETERS TO SHOW SUCCESSIVE LOSS OF DETAIL TO THE POINT OF VISUAL DISAPPEARANCE, DUE TO THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE EMULSION GRAINS

Figure 2 — Illustration of the limits of photography from Lowell's article in *Century*.

Lowell's article in *Century* was followed by a report of the photographic progress made during the expedition to the Andes. The expedition photographer stated that all of the photographs revealed canals but did not capture the finer detail seen by the eye and recorded by hand. He claimed the "skilled eye" could easily see the larger canals in the photographs, confirming the existence of canals and the superiority of Lowell's more detailed drawings.[34]

Although the published photographs did not provide definitive evidence of canals, their lack of detail helped Lowell maintain his argument of the superiority of the expert observer. Lowell told readers that to see canals in the photographs the "brain must be open to them,"[35] and the first step was "to educate the eye."[36] The photographic image was superior to what an untrained observer would see but inferior to what a trained observer would see. Lowell claimed the photographs were "doubt-killing bullets from the planet of war"[37] and proved that the eye remained "the most potent instrument" of astronomical research.[38] Those who supported Lowell believed the photographs "should settle, once and for all . . . these curious Martian markings."[39]

The initial enthusiasm generated by the photographs was tempered by their failure to provide a clear image, and some astronomers explored the possibility that an optical illusion accounted for the canals.[40] Shortly before the 1907 opposition, Professor Andrew Douglass of the University of Arizona reported the discovery of optical illusions that could explain the canals. In one optical illusion, "motes," or debris, on the surface of the eye floated through the field of vision, producing a halo effect that viewers misinterpreted as large surface features on Mars. Another illusion involved "black rays" seen radiating from dark objects on the planet's surface; these rays were misidentified as faint canals. Douglass concluded that fundamental optical defects accounted for the observation of canals; they were pure illusion, "the hallucinations of the astronomical eye . . . an optical phantasmagoria destitute of all objective reality."[41] Most astronomers dismissed Douglass' hypothesis because it did not account for the objective features that were widely agreed to exist on Mars, and astronomers were unwilling to believe the visual system was completely incapable of gathering reliable information.

In 1906 Simon Newcomb, head of the U. S. Naval Observatory and an editor for *Science*, published his version of the illusion hypothesis in *Astrophysical Journal*, an American academic journal.[42] Newcomb believed that optical and psychological principles worked together to produce the image of canals. He claimed "visual integration" occurred when the viewer perceived a discontinuous collection of objects as continuous.

Newcomb reported an experiment that tested the observation skills of several prominent astronomers. They were shown a drawing of Mars that included generally agreed-upon objective features and several discontinuous lines and were asked to draw what they saw. The astronomers drew the discontinuous lines as continuous and connected them to other features. Newcomb claimed the results confirmed the visual integration

hypothesis, and he urged other astronomers to re-evaluate their own observations of canals. The canals were seen "by so many observers that no question can be raised as to their subjective reality"; it was their objective existence that was in question.

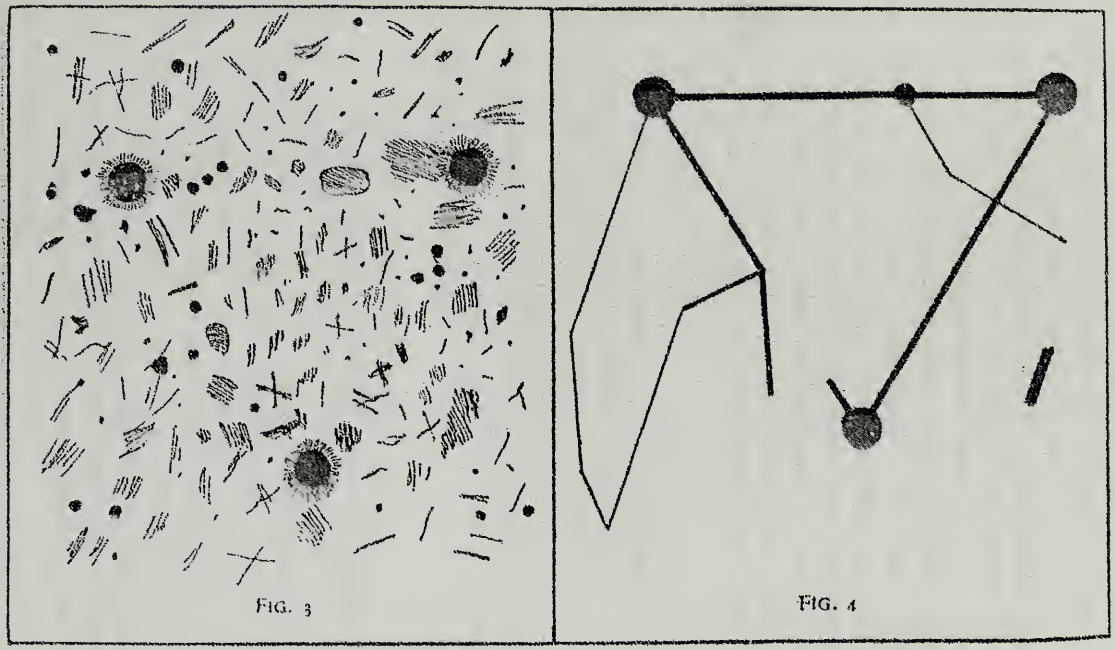
Lowell's response appeared two months later in the *Astrophysical Journal.* According to Lowell the visual integration hypothesis confirmed the existence of canals, and he was pleased that "scientists not themselves specialists in the subject" were interested in canals and acknowledged their presence. In addition, Lowell reported his own visual integration experiment. Lowell used the same basic method as Newcomb but systematically varied the width of the lines and the distances between the discontinuous markings. Lowell's subjects, his staff at Flagstaff, viewed the drawing through a telescope at a distance that would simulate the actual size of Mars in the eyepiece. He claimed the experimental conditions more closely resembled actual viewing conditions and, therefore, more clearly established the conditions under which visual integration occurred.

Lowell found evidence of visual integration but also found that as the distance between discontinuous marks increased, subjects were able to identify the individual markings. He concluded that several of the larger canals seen on Mars should have passed the threshold where visual integration occurred and dissolved into their corresponding spots, but they did not. Therefore, the canals were real. Lowell also claimed that visual integration did not account for the geometric regularity and uniformity of the Martian markings. Lowell concluded that the process of visual integration supported rather than refuted the existence of canals on Mars.[43]

Pickering Supports "Visual Integration"

Harper's Magazine presented the visual integration hypothesis to popular audiences early in 1908 in an article by Harvard astronomer William Pickering.[44] Pickering was an experienced observer of the canals on Mars and participated in Newcomb's experiment. Pickering claimed that most astronomers rejected an "artificial" explanation of canals.

He acknowledged that the photographs of Mars were a significant scientific achievement but provided no detailed evidence of the canal-like features. He claimed that a close examination of the surface markings of Mars would reveal irregular groupings of spots; the canal-like features were a product of visual integration. Two illustrations in the article demonstrated for readers the effect of visual integration: one was a dotted line and the other an irregular grouping of spots (**Figure 3**). When viewed at a distance of 30 feet the dotted lines and grouping of spots became solid.



Irregular markings, such as are shown in Fig. 3, when seen from a distance of 30 feet resemble the canals of Fig. 4

Figure 3 — William Pickering's illustration of visual integration from *Harper's Magazine*.

Newcomb claimed in *Harper's Weekly* the problem presented by the canals was primarily linguistic, initiated by a misunderstanding of the Italian language. He stated that the Italian term "canali" should have been translated into "channel" rather than "canal." For astronomers "canal" was merely a descriptive term for the markings on the surface of Mars, while the public interpreted canal to mean an artificial waterway. Newcomb claimed the popular belief that engineered canals existed on Mars was a result of "habits of interpretation" and "indescribable complexity," reduced to a network of fine pencil lines under the direction of Lowell.[45]

As the 1909 opposition approached, Lowell published numerous articles about Mars, including a series of seven articles in *Century Magazine*.[46] Once again the articles were used to promote Lowell's belief the canals were used to distribute the little remaining water from the melting polar ice caps. No planetary photographs of Mars accompanied the *Century* articles, and Lowell never used his early photographs in the magazines again. However, Lowell did use photography in other ways to support his arguments. The photographs in the *Century* series included a picture of his "photographic apparatus," a telescope with a camera attached. He photographed three-dimensional globes that were constructed based on his observations. He also published photographs of earth's canals and streets taken from a hot-air balloon to provide examples of how the surface of Mars looked to the expert observer.[47]

The photographs of Mars taken during the 1909 opposition failed to produce any greater planetary detail than those taken in 1907.[48] An editorial in *Scientific American* judged them be no more than "a partial aid" and concluded:

> For the finer detail it is impossible to eliminate the human factor, the personal equation of the observer. It is his eye that must see the markings of the planet and it is his pencil that must make the record for later study. So long as the human factor plays so large a part, just so long will there be reason to doubt the accuracy of the record.[49]

The failure of photography to provide an authentic image of Mars with positive evidence of canals allowed Lowell to maintain his claim to be the expert observer and to have the most accurate interpretations of the markings on Mars.[50]

The visual integration hypothesis also gained strength in the absence of photographic evidence of canals. Many astronomers who claimed to see canals used visual integration to redefine the meaning of the canals.[51] In December 1909, photographs of Mars taken at the Mount Wilson

Observatory were shown at a London meeting of the British Astronomical Society. The photographs were taken through one of the most powerful telescopes in the world and "no canals appeared." The photographs "resolved these straight lines into a series of spots and blurs." The so-called canals were "explained by the affect on the eye of patterns of dark spots." The British Astronomical Society, the most influential organization in astronomy, declared the riddle solved and officially endorsed the visual integration hypothesis. It declared that the time had come to abandon "one of the quaintest and most unreasonable of popular superstitions."[52]

Photography failed to provide evidence for a unified view of Mars. After the 1909 opposition, canal-digging Martians and visual integration continued to offer opposing explanations for the canals. Both hypotheses flourished in the absence of a conclusive photograph. The majority of professional astronomers accepted the visual integration hypothesis supported by the British Astronomical Society: the canals were constructed "by our telescopes, our imperfect eyesight, and also our imagination."[53]

The "Lowellians," however, continued to support the belief that the canals were evidence of intelligent life.[54] An article in *Cosmopolitan* claimed that the existence of intelligent life on Mars was a "moot astronomical question."[55] After the opposition of 1909, astronomers no longer believed that future photographs of Mars would resolve its problematic image. The canals seemed destined to remain "the great riddle" of Mars.[56]

Lowell Controlled the Images

Lowell made a clear distinction between his original photographs and those published in the magazines. He produced original photographs of Mars and claimed they were proof that canals existed. Then he argued the photographs could not be enlarged, magnified, or reproduced in the magazines without destroying the evidence of canals. This limitation of magazine images worked in favor of Lowell's argument. His inability to share the photographs allowed him to claim the authority to decide what the photographs revealed. In this context, photography provided evidence of canals and supported the traditional method of observation dominated by the expert observer. Lowell enjoyed some popular success, but modern astronomy was not willing to return to a method that reflected a backward-looking view of the visual sciences.

For photographs to have evidential power, they must be shared. Lowell attempted to direct the interpretation of the photographs; however, the published photographs of Mars did not support his claims—no one could see canals. Visual integration, which was grounded in modern

thought about the visual system and the evidential power of photography, provided a more viable explanation for the appearance of canals. Without the visual integration hypothesis, astronomers who saw canals were left with two uncomfortable explanations for their observations: they risked supporting Lowell's Martians or Douglass' hallucinations. With visual integration the appearance of canals could be explained as a combination of real surface characteristics of the planet and unconscious workings of the visual system. Visual integration provided a reasonable, modern, scientifically-grounded account for the appearance of canals.

Provided a Logical Framework

Visual integration used the evidential power of photography in two ways. First, photography provided a logical visual framework to describe visual integration. Like the image in a photograph, the canals dissolved into individual grains when enlarged. Second, the photographs of Mars and the illustrations of visual integration provided visual evidence. Lowell unintentionally provided the most convincing evidence of visual integration. His illustration in *Century* (**Figure 2, p. 24**) showed how the canals could dissolve into individual discrete features on Mars, effectively demonstrating how visual integration worked. For those who viewed the magazine's photographs, the canals were not evident but visual integration was.

Visual integration, like Lowell's use of photography, was somewhat contradictory. If the visual system and photography used the same basic method to create an image, why was one an illusion and the other evidence? In the context of visual observation, visual integration was an illusion, while in the context of astronomical photography it was evidence. This distinction was important because of the direction each context suggested astronomy was taking as a science. In the context of visual observation, visual integration meant astronomy was an outdated science using questionable methods. In the context of photographic evidence, visual integration meant astronomy was becoming a modern science.

It is interesting to note that approximately 10 years after the visual integration hypothesis was formulated, Gestalt psychologists described a similar psychological principle. The Gestalt principle of "good continuation" states that close or similar objects are summed into a unified group, and if the observer expects to perceive a particular grouping, it is more likely to be perceived.[57] Although it was not their intention, Gestalt psychologists provided additional confirmation of the visual integration hypothesis. The visual integration hypothesis became astronomy's institutionalized explanation for the canals.[58] Definitive "photographic" images

of the surface of Mars were not taken until the 1970s when the Mariner and Viking spacecraft produced pictures of Mars. No canals were evident.

Lowell's Mars remained alive but was institutionalized in popular culture rather than astronomy. H. G. Wells and Edgar Rice Burroughs were among the first fiction writers who capitalized on the popular interest in Mars generated by Lowell. H. G. Wells wrote "The Things That Live on Mars" for *Cosmopolitan* in 1908. The article speculated about the possible life forms on Mars based on "the latest scientific revelations about the flora and fauna of Mars." Wells acknowledged Lowell's help in providing updated astronomical knowledge on which to base the article.[59] Edgar Rice Burroughs published "Under the Moons of Mars" in *The All Story Magazine* in 1912 and modeled Mars after Lowell's descriptions of the planet in the popular magazines. Lowell's canals became an icon for popular fictional representations of Mars, appearing in works ranging from Ray Bradbury's *The Martian Chronicles* to the movie, "The Three Stooges in Orbit."

Photographs Supported Ambiguity

This case study proves interesting and important for two reasons. First, the published photographs *failed* to provide clear, visible evidence of canals, so the image of Mars remained open to interpretation and imagination. The ambiguous character of the photograph allowed it to be read in different ways by those who viewed it. A consequence of this ambiguity was that the discursive use of photography was foregrounded as both the "Lowellians" and the "illusionists" struggled to control photography's evidential power. In spite of its failure to produce an authoritative image, photography continued to provide evidence for both sides.

Second, the discussions occurred in the magazines. Because of the broad popular interest in Mars, magazines reported a significant number of the discussions and influenced the discussions. The printing process used to reproduce photographs in the magazines degraded the evidence of the canals, allowing Lowell to maintain his arguments about life on Mars. Lowell found a large and amenable popular audience for his ideas, and he personally published over 30 magazine articles about Mars. Through magazines, Lowell developed and maintained a vital connection with his supporters and the American public.

The world's foremost astronomers, including Lowell, Ball, Flammarion, Holden, Newcomb, and Pickering published articles about Mars in both scientific and popular magazines. Robert Ball's discussion about signals from Mars was published in 1901 in *Independent*, *Living Age*, and *Scientific American*. In 1907 Andrew Douglass' article about the illusions of vision appeared in *Current Literature*, *Popular Science*, and

Scientific American. Many more articles were published in multiple magazines. Magazines provided a site for the discussion of Mars and a unique opportunity for astronomers to present their ideas to a large audience. Unlike newspapers, the magazine articles were written by the astronomers themselves rather than reporters, which gave astronomers some control over what was being said about Mars in the popular press.

One problem magazines presented for astronomers was the discussions were open to groups of people other than astronomers which challenged their authority to decide what the photographic evidence meant. As a result, the discussions captured some of the developing tension between the popularization and professionalization of modern science. Today many astronomers believe the canal issue would have been a minor problem associated with viewing conditions if Lowell had not popularized the idea.[60] Newcomb's response to Lowell was driven as much or more by the popular momentum generated by Lowell as the need for astronomers to resolve the issue among themselves.

As a case study, the discussions of Mars in magazines provide a rich view of the rising evidential power of photography at the turn of the century. The discussions capture the complex interactions that shaped the use of photographs as evidence and display the rich sense of contradiction, excitement, uncertainty, hope, and failure that Tagg and other scholars claim characterized the struggle to control the evidential power of photography. Historian Jacques Barzun eloquently cautions the researcher not to reduce this complexity: ". . . the moment the picture begins to look like a checkerboard, he has overshot the mark; he is no longer on earth but on Mars, where everything is canals."[61]

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Reporting World War II for the Local Audience: Jack Shelley's Experience as a Local Radio Reporter in the European Theater

By Chris W. Allen

Three distinctive reporting styles can be found in examining the stories that WHO Radio correspondent Jack Shelley wrote from the European Theater during the Battle of the Bulge in World War II. The first is the extensive use of names of soldiers from the Midwest, communicating messages to families at home and telling a little about the soldiers' experiences. The second style takes a longer view of the war, especially as the Western Front is disrupted by the German Advance. The third reporting style is commentary.

In May 1944, about a month before the D-Day invasion of Europe, the United States War Department changed its policy concerning war correspondents. Having decided there were now sufficient transatlantic circuits to transmit more messages, it announced that correspondents from individual radio stations would be accredited for war coverage in all theaters.[1] Until that time only network correspondents had been accredited to go into any of the war zones, and although local radio correspondents had traveled to England and sent reports home, none had been close to combat. Newspaper reporters had been allowed at the front from the beginning of the war and, with the War Department's announcement, radio reporters would finally be given equal access.

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Within months, six stations had applied for accreditation for their reporters,[2] and War Department records indicate 24 stations or regional networks eventually sent reporters over.[3] The first, Howard Chernoff, was accredited in early June.[4] Four months later, in October 1944, Jack Shelley, news manager of WHO radio in Des Moines, Iowa, was accredited and left for Europe.

WHO was then, and still is, a 50,000 watt, clear-channel radio station. It was owned by Palmer Broadcasting. Bankers Life insurance put the station on the air in 1924. Shelley, a 1935 graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, was hired following his graduation, and became news manager (now called news director) in 1940.

One Local Reporter's Story

This article examines the reporting styles used by one local radio reporter to tell his audience about the experiences of soldiers fighting on the Western Front, and examines what these reports meant to Iowans and to the military. The unit of analysis is each story Shelley wrote from the European Theater, submitted to censors, and shortwaved back to the United States for broadcast on WHO Radio.

When the new War Department policy was issued, WHO General Manager Joe Maland asked Shelley if WHO should send a correspondent. Shelley said yes, and when Maland asked who it should be, Shelley replied that he wanted to go.

> I knew that it would be great for the kind of audience that we had, as widespread as it was and penetrating into small towns and all of the farms, if we could tell folks in Iowa, and for that matter, the surrounding states where our signal was strong, that we had actually seen their boys in service over there, and to be able to tell them something about what was happening with these guys.[5]

After the flurry of securing accreditation and getting the required shots, Shelley left Des Moines by rail and arrived in New York City on October 26, 1944, where he waited more than a week for military transportation to England.

Shelley's job was to find soldiers from his listening area, get their stories, and relay them back to the audience. Many newspaper correspondents were doing the same thing, the most famous of all being Ernie Pyle, who covered troops from the African campaign into Italy, then to the Western front in Europe, until his death in the Pacific Theater in April

1945. This style of reporting was called "Joe Blow" reporting, a term given to those who were covering local boys instead of the overall picture of the war itself, as the networks, wire services and major papers were doing.

56 Reports in Three Months

In the 1940s, parts of Iowa still had no electricity. Farm families had been underserved by the communications media.[6] People in small towns and rural areas often did not subscribe to a daily newspaper. Their only news came from the community weekly. Their appetite for war news was as great as anybody's, and radio was the medium to deliver that news daily. Beyond that, sons, brothers, husbands and fathers were fighting at the front thousands of miles away. While the folks at home were interested in general news about the war, its significance paled beside the type of stories people like Jack Shelley and the *Des Moines Register*'s Gordon Gammack were sending home. News that Shelley or Gammack had met their boy at the front and he said hello to Mom was precious. Shelley used it to connect with his audience and bring the grim picture of war home.

WHO records indicate that 56 of Shelley's reports were aired in the three months he was in Europe. At least seven others were passed by the censors and even apparently shortwaved back to the United States, but not aired, perhaps because of poor reception from Europe. On average, Shelley prepared and voiced nearly five reports a week. A content analysis showed that 22 of the 56 aired reports mentioned the names of Iowans or Midwesterners within the large WHO coverage area. Six reports made some comparison to or mention of Iowa or the Midwest. In addition, Shelley sent dozens of telegrams to WHO containing the names of soldiers from the Midwest whom he had met and interviewed. An exact number is impossible because some of the telegrams have been lost and, unlike the broadcasts, WHO did not keep a log of them.

"Joe Blow" Reporting

Although Shelley called himself a "Joe Blow" reporter, his reports actually can be informally categorized into three general types: names, war reports and overviews/commentaries. He was sent to cover the war from the Midwestern soldier's angle, but because of the vagaries of war, that was not possible each day.

Ironically, Shelley's first report from England was broadcast Armistice Day, November 11, 1944. He wasted no time going about his

business. After describing where he was, and very briefly drawing the stark contrasts between London and Des Moines, Shelley started naming names.

> I wish there were time to tell you more about the Air Transport Command, the people it carries to and from virtually every war front. Among the people I met at one time or another was Chaplain Roy Cox, former pastor of the Methodist Church at Spirit Lake, and whose family is now living in Sioux City. Also there was Technician Third Grade Lawrence Walock of Vincent, near Fort Dodge, a holder of the Silver Star for bravery in the Mediterranean theater. Walock had taken advantage of a 30-day leave in the states to get married and spend a brief honeymoon. And I also met Sergeant Dean Jackson of Kellerton, Iowa, who has been in the Burma-India theater.[7]

Shelley established his reporting style immediately. His descriptions took on a literary style and, where he could, he made comparisons to which his Iowa audience could relate. He felt compelled to describe the scene in the London underground, where whole families sought refuge each night from the German air attacks. Shelley wrote, "I saw one golden-haired little boy sleeping soundly, in spite of the noise and the dirt and the constant drafts; and I thought of my little son Johnny and his mother, safe in their comfortable home in Des Moines."[8] This was an image with which all Iowans could identify, and suddenly made suffering Londoners more real.

Shelley knew his audience and how to reach it. A week later, in another broadcast for the Corn Belt Farm Hour, a popular WHO noontime program, Shelley described the food situation and how some military officers were faring. His story about the Consolidated Officers' Mess in the Grosvenor House Hotel included a patriotically enthusiastic message for the farmers listening in. Most of the food for the mess was shipped from the United States, he wrote. The meat was frozen and the vegetables dehydrated, "But when they reach the table, they're as tasty as if these products were fresh from the farm — and one thing you midwestern farmers can be sure of is that the foodstuffs and the meat you have done such a fine job of raising, are really coming through."[9]

But Shelley was itching to move closer to the front. Independent radio correspondents were accredited for a maximum of 90 days in the European Theater[10] and Shelley wanted to make the most of his limited time. However, he ran into a disappointment. The British officer handling

press relations for the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) in London told Shelley that he was required to spend 60 days in Great Britain, and only 30 days on the mainland. Shelley protested that the war was in Europe, not in England, and that, had he known of that restriction, he would not have come. The officer refused to back down, and gave Shelley a choice of when he wanted to leave for France. Shelley replied he wanted to go immediately.[11]

On November 21, Shelley made his final broadcast from London, a program to promote war bond sales on his station's War Service Board program. He detailed how the British, devastated as they were, were buying war bonds in huge numbers. At the end of the broadcast he announced he would soon be reporting from France.[12]

A few days later, Shelley arrived at SHAEF Forward headquarters in Paris and put up for a few days with other reporters at the Scribe Hotel. There he met up with *Des Moines Register* reporter Gordon Gammack, a fellow "Joe Blow" who had reported on Iowans in the war since Africa. The two Iowans hung out together for a few days, Gammack filling Shelley in on where he might find a lot of Iowa boys to talk to, and Shelley soaking up the advice.[13]

Shelley thought Paris looked in much better shape than London, even though Paris was closer to the front and had only recently been liberated by Allied troops.[14] Quickly he resumed his reporting style by mixing in the names of Iowans he found as he told his audience about Paris. Shelley made it a habit, whenever he got around a group of soldiers, to simply call out, "Anybody here from Iowa?" and about half the time somebody would reply, "Yes."[15]

> The other day I stepped into one of the many clubs operated here in Paris for men of the American and other Allied forces, hoping as usual to meet servicemen from our WHO territory. And before many minutes had passed, I had found the usual number of men from midwestern states who were glad to talk to someone from the radio station they used to listen to so often at home.[16]

He went on to list seven soldiers from Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri and South Dakota, telling a little about each.

Paris still was not close enough to the action. Within a few days Shelley and several other correspondents climbed into a Jeep and headed for the First Army headquarters in Spa, Belgium. About 50 reporters were bivouacked there in the abandoned Portugal Hotel,[17] and Shelley met United Press correspondent Walter Cronkite, CBS's Howard K. Smith,

H.R. Knickerbocker of International News Service, UP's Jack Frankish and ABC correspondent Jack Fraser.

Shelley at the Front

Shelley's wide-eyed reaction to the German front was evident in his first broadcast from there, recorded December 3 and aired December 7, a piece that fits into the overview category.

> As I look back on the last few weeks, I can't help being struck with the speed of my transition from the peace and safety of America, to the very edge of the struggle raging just a short distance over the German border . . . . The *country*, for one thing, was so *beautiful*: hills and sharply outlined valleys, and dense green woods, cut by rushing little streams — it all reminded you somehow of the Ledges [State Park near Boone, Iowa], or some of our other state parks in Iowa. (emphasis Shelley's)[18]

He contrasted the yellow mud of Germany with the deep, black mire of Iowa farms after a summer rain. The devastated city of Aachen he compared with Des Moines in population, and Shelley said the havoc wreaked by the bombings were as if all of Des Moines, including "the fashionable homes on the edge of the city," had been demolished.[19]

From Spa, Shelley had access to a good part of the First Army. Just a few days after arriving at Army headquarters, Shelley was making forays into Germany, meeting up with Iowans. His report about a tank battalion that had just swept Germans out of a village contained the names of 15 Iowans and the medals some had been awarded after the battle. A few days later, Shelley wrote about them again, assuring friends and family back home that the soldiers were, for now, alive, healthy, and safely out of enemy fire.

Interestingly, Shelley never reported the death of soldiers. Although he mentioned death and injury as part of war in several of his reports, he did not file any stories about soldiers killed in action. Other reporters, including Gammack and Pyle, wrote moving stories about a soldier's last moments, or the loss of a popular member of a troop, or the death of a squad leader. Shelley did not, and a criticism could be made of him. Shelley was there to tell about the experience of war, but he did not include death and injury in that experience.

Shelley's war reports also did not tell about troop movements or big battles. Instead, they gave Iowans insights into the war, portrayed person-

alities and talked about the men and the area in which they were fighting. In an overview report, Shelley told his audience at home how the reports got to them from Holland. Having no wire recorder with him, Shelley took notes of his interviews, returned to Spa, and wrote the reports for transmission home. His scripts went through Army censors and then he was allowed to sit down at a Press Wireless microphone. The 400-watt transmitters were powerful enough to reach Long Island, New York, after sunset, where RCA receivers picked him up and patched him through to NBC. Engineers there made a recording on a big electrical transcription disk, much like a phonograph record, slid it into a mailing envelope and shipped it to WHO.[20]

At home, Shelley's reports were making news. Acting news manager Mel Nelson wrote that the reports were attracting wide attention, and were "top-rate" with listeners. Then Nelson made a special request. He asked Shelley to put together some sort of Christmas program, to which WHO would devote 15 minutes, and would promote heavily. Shelley obliged.

The transmission to New York took place the afternoon of December 15, 1944. This time, Shelley managed to gather about a dozen Iowans into the makeshift Press Wireless studio to tell about themselves. First he had to interview them, then script out the entire program for Army censors. The result was a less-than-spontaneous program. The men were obviously reading a script.

Written as an interview, Shelley asked each one his name and his job in the Army. He asked where each man was from, and the names of relatives he wanted to greet. Corporal Ralph Shoultz, said "hello" on the broadcast to his one-year-old daughter, whom he'd never seen. At the end, they all gathered around the microphone to sing the "Iowa Corn Song." It was a folksy conclusion to the upbeat broadcast. And although it lacked spontaneity, the broadcast let Iowans sitting on farms and in cities during that frigid Iowa winter hear the voices of their boys from thousands of miles away. WHO aired the program at 10:30 p.m. on Christmas night.

By the December 16 program, Shelley had been in Europe about five weeks, and on the mainland for nearly three. He had transmitted at least 19 voiced reports, and in addition had sent dozens of cables packed with names of Iowans, but the war was about to change, and so was Shelley's reporting.

The German Offensive

Early on the morning of December 15, Shelley and the other reporters sat through the early morning briefing for reporters, called the

First Light Report. They were told the Germans had started scattered attacks along the front, but were not told how extensive the damage was. Sensing there was something more to the story, Shelley and ABC reporter Jack Frazier commandeered an Army Jeep and headed south through Malmedy to the 106th Infantry Division at Butgenbach. Later they learned that, moments after passing through Malmedy, the road had been cut by the German advance. Upon arriving at headquarters in Butgenbach, Shelley and Fraser saw it was being abandoned, and the Allies were in retreat from the German offensive, which today is known as the Battle of the Bulge.

Shelley and Fraser joined a column of retreating units, rapidly passing through open areas in small groups of vehicles to avoid snipers. They returned to Spa just in time to see the First Army retreat. They were told to meet up with the Army at Chaudfontaine, but when they got there, the Army headquarters were nowhere in sight. So they found their way north to Maastricht, Holland, and found refuge with the Ninth Army.

Shelley's reporting style changed with the Battle of the Bulge. He began to take a longer view of the war, concentrating on setting the scene and describing action. For five days, Shelley did not transmit a voice report, but he sent reams of telegram copy back to WHO for the newscasters there to rewrite and broadcast. The Battle of the Bulge scattered armies and reporters in a way that most correspondents saw what no other correspondent saw out in the field, and each became a unique story.[21] On December 21, Shelley voiced a report devoid of any names or hometowns, opening with the mournful words, "This is going to be the most unmerry Christmas that Europe and the rest of the world have seen in a long, long time."

> To be sure, *no* Christmas can really be merry in wartime; and for that reason *every* anniversary of that sacred day since 1939 has been tinged with sorrow—but Christmas of 1944 is going to be the saddest of all. For the hopes of war-weary nations that this desperate, sickening struggle over here was all but over, are as *blasted* today as the blood-stained pine trees of the Hurtgen Forest.[22] (emphasis Shelley's.)

He closed his report with a poignant message:

> So, as Christmas Day comes, and as you gather around your tree at home, think also of the dirty, tired, cold Americans who are gathered around the "Christmas trees" that grow in

the forests over here, and whose only Christmas *lights* will be parachute flares and artillery shells and machine-gun tracer bullets. Think of them *all* day and *every* day; they are making this Christmas possible for you and me. And you will never know how much it *cost* them . . . how terribly, terribly *much* it cost them.[23] (emphasis Shelley's)

The next day, Shelley suffered a personal tragedy. He and three others were riding in a Jeep, headed toward Chaudfontaine to rejoin some fellow correspondents. Ahead, they heard dull explosions, and saw planes pass over the village. They had missed a German dive bomb attack by moments. Most of the correspondents had found refuge in an old hotel. But in the driveway lay United Press correspondent Jack Frankish, who had befriended Shelley when Shelley first arrived, and with whom he had made his first trips to the front. Shelley was the one to identify Frankish's body.

The planes returned, but they did not bomb that area again. Shelley and the others climbed back into their Jeep and were driving away when a German bomb exploded less than 100 yards away.[24] Obviously, being a soft news reporter did not mediate the danger of reporting from the front. Shelley wrote an account of the incident and voiced the report back to America, but it never aired, possibly because of poor reception that night in New York.

In the confusion caused by the German advance, Army officials apparently were not worried that Jack Shelley had overstayed his 30-day allowance on the mainland. He made no attempt to remind them of the fact. Instead, he sent home reports, via telegram and shortwave, of the desperate, cold battle American troops were fighting. For his January 7 report, aired January 14, he borrowed a literary style from Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* to draw a stunning irony about the war in the Ardennes Forest.

He described the serenely beautiful Belgian countryside, taking listeners on a Jeep ride up a mountain, past the dense forest, through a shattered village, into a valley, across a stream and back up a hillside, describing each in exquisite detail. Then he suddenly changed course to tell how the beauty of the landscape had been a handicap to the American troops. In describing the devastation the war had had on the land, he pointed out that time would heal those scars, but not the loss of human lives.

But nothing will replace the loss of the men who die here. It will take more than snow and new pine trees, to hide the scars of those who are *wounded* here. There is sadness *compounded*

in this wounding and this dying, amid such unbelievable, tranquil beauty. There is almost insupportable *shock* at the sight of *red* against the white snow . . . because there is only one way that red stain got there.

This is Jack Shelley, speaking from somewhere in Holland.[25] (emphasis Shelley's)

Several subsequent reports, in the war report category, were spent talking about battles and generals. One in particular was a flattering profile of the controversial British Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery. Then Shelley returned to the theme that brought the war home to his Midwest audience. "I sometimes wonder . . . what our rich, peaceful, fruitful Middle West in America would look like, if great armies had ever locked in battle there," he wrote.[26]

Not long after, Shelley met up with the 113th and Fourth Cavalries, which originated as an Iowa National Guard company, and consequently had a high percentage of Iowans. In a series of six voice reports and scores of telegrams, WHO records indicate that Shelley mentioned the names of 109 members of the 113th, and 211 members of the Fourth. Although most were from Iowa, others came from Oregon, Indiana, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, and Illinois, among other states.

In Des Moines, WHO took upon itself a service that may have been unique during the war. The station had hired two women to transcribe Shelley's voice reports, and catalog all the names mentioned in those and the telegraphed copy. WHO would often notify individuals by telegram when news about their son or husband was about to be broadcast. Some people shared these with the local newspaper, which published a notice about the program. Many people who missed the report, but heard about it from others, wrote to WHO asking for details. They received a reply with a summary of what Shelley had said about this or that person, all without charge.

Warned Against Over-Confidence

Shelley's reports about conditions and the battles were cautiously optimistic. He was never in doubt that American and Allied troops would defeat Germany, but he constantly warned Americans, so far from the horrible conditions of Europe, not to get overconfident. He talked of the bravery of American soldiers, and how, foot by tortuous foot, they were repelling the German advance. Always he emphasized the fighting spirit of Nazi troops and mentioned that victory would come only after thou-

sands of young American men had died, and many thousands more had been wounded. He concluded one report on a propaganda document confiscated from a captured German soldier: "Never forget one thing. Whether he is 'doped' with propaganda or not, the German is still *fighting*, and fighting *well*. Over the long run, he hasn't a chance, but it will still take plenty to knock him out."[27] (emphasis Shelley's)

He persisted in that theme right up to the end of his time in the European theater. In his last report from Holland Shelley described how conditions had changed, physically and militarily, from the time he arrived in November, through the deep winter, and up to the beginning of February. The end was much closer than it was when he first arrived, Shelley related, but it would not be an easy end. "This is a savage foe we are fighting—never, never underestimate him," Shelley concluded.[28]

The Army caught up with Shelley around February 1, 1945. Ninth Army Public Relations Officer Barney Oldfield approached Shelley with orders to go home. Then Oldfield asked Shelley whether he wanted him to lose the orders. Laughing, Shelley replied no, that in fact WHO had called him home to be sent to the Pacific Theater while WHO Farm News Director Herb Plambeck replaced Shelley in Europe.[29] On February 14, 1945, Shelley made his final broadcast from the BBC studios in London (it aired on WHO on February 22), and in this one, Shelley took on the role of commentator with a global perspective.

The theme for the final broadcast was food. He told how the European countries had been stripped of food by the German armies. Allied armies had brought their own food with them, and American troops had been forbidden to buy food lest they deprive locals of food and drive up prices. But Shelley said the local population was severely deprived of food, and that the problem needed to be solved immediately.

The first thing to do, Shelley said, was to rebuild the transportation systems destroyed in the war so any food that remained in outlying areas could be distributed. A second problem, not so easily solved, was manpower. The liberated countries had lost millions of men. The fields were laced with land mines. Cattle and draft animals had been killed in the fighting (Shelley had explained that in at least one previous report). Those were only a few of the obstacles to Europe being able to clothe and feed itself once more, he said, and in all of this, America would have to help:

> For if Europe is *not* reconstructed; if her people continue to go hungry and cold, nothing in the world could prevent another *war* over here. By this time, I think we Americans have learned that a European war, sooner or later, involves *us*. And if there *should* be another war—a war that almost certainly

would be even more terrible than the one I have just been watching at close-range—I for one am afraid to think of the fate of all mankind.[30] (emphasis Shelley's)

Shelley had obviously been a sharp obeserver not only of the war and its soldiers, but also of the countryside, the victims and the politics, even if they were not part of his reports. His predictions, wherever they came from, were reflected in the Marshall Plan, instituted after the War to get Europe back on its feet.

Stateside Reaction

Listening to a Jack Shelley report from Holland was not always easy. The problem was not the quality of writing or the delivery, but the quality of the recordings. The reports that were shortwaved to New York were recorded on glass-based discs, which were easily scratched. Recordings from surviving disks also reveal many of the reports were filled with the sounds peculiar to short wave broadcasts—whistles, interference, overlap of other signals and the dit-dot of Morse Code transmissions. Sometimes the other sounds overwhelmed Shelley's voice, almost drowning him out and making the listener bend closer to the speaker. Other times, Shelley's voice boomed through into the living room clearly.

Despite the difficulties, the broadcasts were popular. WHO was deluged with mail, some of it thanking the station and Shelley for the broadcasts, others requesting copies of the reports for people who had missed the broadcast. Almost immediately people began writing the station. Shelley's reports had apparently found something the audience in Iowa and surrounding states desperately wanted. Some letters simply said thanks for providing the service, but in some of them a much deeper gratitude is evident:

- Mere words can't express the gratitude I feel toward you and especially your foreign correspondent, Jack Shelley. Last Saturday night, Dec. 30, broadcasting from the Western front, Mr. Shelley mentioned having spoken to my husband, Captain Emanuel Brenton . . . .[31]

- I wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart in making it possible that Keith Baker was one of the lucky Iowa boys to be interviewed by you in Belgium Dec. 28 and we could hear his voice. It was great and we recognized him as our very own Keith so far away . . . Anyways [sic], no one will never [sic]

know what or rather how much it all meant to me and the rest of the family, in fact our town folks appreciated hearing a home boy on the radio.[32]

• This is to extend to you our heartfelt thanks for announcing the news of a reporter talking to our son Cpl. Alvin Tuttle. Such acts of kindness are a great inspiration to us in these trying times and I assure you is [sic] highly appreciated. To my wife and I that was the best and most thrilling news we have ever heard on the Radio.[33]

When the letters requested copies of the programs, the newsroom sent back a letter thanking them for the request, and then gave a summary of Shelley's report about the person in question.[34] Iowa newspapers considered Jack Shelley's visits with soldiers from the area news. Shelley's hometown paper, the *Boone News-Republic*, printed the transcript (courtesy of WHO) of Shelley's report on a tank destroyer battalion that mentioned two Boone men.[35]

Not surprisingly, Shelley was also a target for criticism. One letter writer complained that Shelley was wasting time talking about individual soldiers, and wanted him to "tell us about the war and what he sees—or come home."[36] Several letter writers accused Shelley of talking only to officers and ignoring enlisted men. Perhaps the harshest criticism came in a letter to the editor of the *Des Moines Tribune*:

For a week we heard over the radio that on Christmas we would hear the voices of our Des Moines boys from overseas. But not one Negro mother heard the voice of her son. I have a son overseas fighting along with millions of others. Our sons are sent to distant lands to fight for democracy but really we need democracy right here.[37]

Years later, Shelley responded to that letter saying that, in a still segregated Army of 1944, few African Americans were fighting at the front, where Shelley was. An African American fighter squadron was fighting in Italy, but otherwise, African Americans were generally in support positions behind the front. And, Iowa being a state with a low minority population, the chances of finding an African American from Iowa were slim. However, when he covered the Pacific, Shelley did tell the story of an African American from Des Moines who had been decorated.[38]

As for the criticism that Shelley only talked to officers, lists of people compiled by WHO dispute that. Shelley did talk to officers; often they were the spokespersons of their units. But the lists indicate he talked to and reported on many enlisted men and non-commissioned officers as well.

The Military Reacts

The military also valued the "Joe Blow" reporters as morale builders, not only at home but at the front. Stories of the kind Shelley told usually resulted in letters from home telling the soldiers what had been said. Clippings of newspaper articles about Shelley's stories were sent. These raised the spirits of the fighting men. Ninth Army PRO Barney Oldfield said the efforts of Shelley and those like him were part of the motivational activities the Army was undertaking.[39] While many reporters were assigned to cover the generals (or were content to do so), reporters like Shelley went out looking for participants. Not only did such reporting build an instant bridge between the war and the homefront; it also told the people back home that their sons were consequential in the effort. It all resulted in morale building.[40]

This belief was held by those at the very top of power. General Dwight D. Eisenhower once wrote to his generals that much of the war coverage had been too general and impersonal. Opportunities to publicize the heroic actions of individual units were being lost, he wrote. "A personalized presentation of achievements of units of this great force would result in greater appreciation at home and this, in turn, would have a beneficial result on the morale of every organization."[41] Six years after the war, Eisenhower reinforced that sentiment, saying, "I know of no thing (sic) which so improves the morale of the soldier as to see his unit, or his own name in print—just once."[42]

In some cases, news of Shelley's presence preceded him. Friends and relatives at home wrote to the men at the front that Jack Shelley was in the area, and hoped the men would get to meet him. When they did, many of them were modest about their accomplishments. Gordon Parks, communication officer of the Ninth Cavalry, recalled:

> While Jack was interviewing the fellows, it was a privilege to sit to one side and watch the enthused expression on their faces as they shook his hand and explained, "Why, I've heard you lots of times" . . . Yes, it is a credit to Jack, and to WHO, that he was almost more of a celebrity to these fellows than these other war correspondents. It was also a pleasure to see these fellows, whom

> I, myself, saw work in all kinds of weather and under every adverse condition, many times heroically, grin and look down and say, "Shucks, I never did anything much," when asked about their silver stars and so on."[43]

But to the Army, that was exactly the point.

War Brought Home

Vietnam is often called the "living room war," but of course, war had been coming into American living rooms in newspapers since the Revolution. But Jack Shelley and the other local war correspondents talked directly to their audiences with an intimacy newspapers cannot achieve. Shelley's almost melodic delivery, which by 1944 had become familiar to a large part of the Midwest, helped overcome the impersonal tone that Eisenhower complained about. Although the military was delighted with the soft news form of reporting, that was not the audience Shelley was aiming for. His audience was gathered around a radio in cold, snowy Iowa, patriotic, weary of the deprivations, fearful for the lives of their sons, fathers, relatives and friends.

Shelley's reporting style demonstrates he knew his audience. When he could, he talked about conditions or events by relating them to Iowa or the Midwest. His writing also shows a respect for his audience. It was not simplistic, but at times deep and descriptive. It shows variety as well. When he could, he devoted entire programs to simply naming names and telling about their experiences. Other times, Shelley stepped back and gave WHO listeners a wider view, almost setting the changing scene from time to time as a backdrop against which to tell more personal stories. He was equally comfortable writing the four-and-a-half minute voiced reports that were shortwaved back to the United States, and sending back, in clipped Western Union style, copy that his WHO staff would rewrite and air.

He did not sit in the press camp and wait for bulletins to be handed him, but traveled among the troops, sometimes spending two or three days with an outfit before heading back to headquarters. To First Army PRO Oldfield, that set Shelley apart from some, but not all, other reporters:

> Jack was one of those indefatigable guys who was out there trying to nail down everybody who had the faintest clutch on Iowa. If he had a cousin in Iowa, it was good enough for Jack. . . . Jack was a great one to pull these little human interest stories out and to set them against . . . whatever the battle

action that was happening at the time. So, to the people who were listening at home, it was reassuring first off that the guy was alive on that date and he was engaged in what they'd been reading about, and it gave communities a sense of pride to think that they had people in that action.[44]

Shelley certainly was not the only correspondent writing human interest stories from the War. Ernie Pyle made his reputation at it. Gordon Gammack of the *Des Moines Register* and dozens of other newspaper reporters did as well. Even Edward R. Murrow and other network correspondents wrote soft news stories. But it was Shelley's main purpose for being there, and he was one of the first to do it for local radio. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine what the two dozen or so other local radio reporters wrote (tracking down those reports would be a worthwhile effort), and where Shelley fit into the large picture.

Two criticisms might be leveled at Shelley, in addition to the African American mother's disappointment that no African Americans were heard on the Christmas broadcast. The first is that women also were not heard in Shelley's reports. Shelley's position at the front may explain that; women were not stationed in forward units. He did not do a story from Europe about hospitals, where most of the women would have been found.

The second possible criticism might be that Shelley's reports were never critical of anyone. It was not his job as he saw it to be judgmental of the military or its leaders. On the other hand, he did not whitewash the war. Some of his narrative details in stark language the conditions in which the men lived, the carnage they suffered, and the death that filled the air that winter.

Shelley's reports had an impact, demonstrated by the fact that, upon his return, and before he left for the Pacific theater, he was in huge demand as a speaker. During the 1945 high school commencement season in Iowa, Shelley found himself giving 15 addresses in a three week period.

The War helped make the careers of people like Edward R. Murrow and William Shirer, and demonstrated that, as a news medium, radio offered an intimacy and a coverage that no other medium could. It was a defining event for radio, and perhaps the high point as a news provider. Jack Shelley and the handful of other local radio reporters who finally got a chance to write about the war specifically for their audiences, put the fine touches on that definition.

After the war, Shelley returned to Des Moines and to WHO as news director. He attended the first meeting of the National Association of

Radio News Directors (now RTNDA), and served as the organization's third president. He and 19 other journalists huddled with military troops in a trench at Yucca Flat as a nuclear device was exploded in a 1953 test. In 1954, WHO obtained a television license. Shelley oversaw the newsrooms for both operations and served as anchor for many years. Shelley left broadcasting in 1965 to join Iowa State University's journalism department, a job he held until his retirement in 1983. As of this writing, Jack Shelley, 87, lives in Ames, Iowa.

Endnotes

[1]Sol Taishhoff, "Nets Pool Facilities to Cover Invasion," *Broadcasting* 8 May 1944, 7

[2]"Six Correspondents Accredited to ETO," *Broadcasting* 10 July 1944, 10

[3]Col Barney Oldfield, USAF (Ret.), *Never a Shot in Anger*, Battle of Normandy Museum Edition (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1989) 312-334.

[4]Chernoff to ETO for West Va Net," *Broadcasting* 5 June, 1944, 65.

[5]Jack Shelley, interview by author, tape recording, Ames, Iowa, 23 September 1995

[6]Shelley interview, 27 October 1995

[7]Jack Shelley, "7-minute Talk to WHO Corn Belt Farm Hour," London, 11 November 1944

[8]Shelley, "7-minute talk"

[9]Jack Shelley, "BBC direct to WHO Corn Belt Hour," 18 November 1944

[10]"Chernoff to ETO," 65

[11]Jack Shelley, interview by Ken Eich and author, Columbia, Missouri, April 3, 1994

[12]Jack Shelley, "Script for Recording to be made Nov 21," London, 21 November, 1944.

[13]Shelley interview, 1994

[14]Jack Shelley, Script for 10-minute Broadcast, script #1, Paris, France, 27 November 1944

[15]Shelley interview, 23 September 1944

[16]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, 29 November 1944, p 1.

[17]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Spa, Belgium, 6 December 1944

[18]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, 3 December 1944

[19]*Ibid*

[20]Shelley interview, 3 April 1994

[21]Shelley interview, 3 April 1994

[22]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Ninth Army, 21 December 1944

[23]*Ibid*

[24]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Holland, 24 December 1944

[25]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Holland, 7 January 1944

[26]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Holland, 19 January 1945

[27]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Holland, 15 January, 1945

[28]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, Holland, 4 February 1945

[29]Shelley interview, 3 April 1994

[30]Jack Shelley, Script for Broadcast, London, 14 February, 1945

[31]Ruth Brenton, Moline, Illinois, to WHO Newsroom, Des Moines, Iowa, 4 January, 1945

[32]Mae E Baker, Wilton, Iowa, to Jack Shelley, Des Moines, Iowa, 5 January, 1945.

[33]Mr and Mrs. John Tuttle, Fraser, Iowa, to WHO newsroom, Des Moines, Iowa, 29 September 1944.

[34]WHO, Des Moines, to Mrs. Maude Mollenhour, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 22 February 1945.

[35]"Boone Men Met By Shelley In His Tour Across West Front," *Boone News-Republic*, 20 December 1944, page unknown

[36]EP. Bellma, Pleasantville, Iowa, to WHO, Des Moines, Iowa, 14 December 1944.

[37]Mrs Gertrude McCann, Des Moines, to *Des Moines Tribune*, Des Moines, 29 December 1944, page unknown.

[38]Jack Shelley, interview by author, on tape, 27 October 1995

[39]Col Barney Oldfield, U.S. Air Force (Ret.), interview by author, on tape, 18 October, 1995.

[40]Oldfield, 1995

[41]General Dwight D Eisenhower to Generals Omar Bradley and Jacob Devers, cited in Oldfield, *Never a Shot*, 163n.

[42]Eisenhower, cited in Oldfield, *Never a Shot*, 164

[43]Gordon Parks, interview with author, on tape, 11 January, 1996

[44]Oldfield, 1995

Issues of Openness and Privacy: Press and Public Response to Betty Ford's Breast Cancer

By Myra Gregory Knight

Although the state of the President's health had been scrutinized by the press for years, First Ladies generally had demanded and been accorded more privacy. In the wake of Watergate and other significant occurrences of the early 1970s, however, press coverage of Betty Ford's mastectomy suggested a change of direction. This article examines the factors that figured in the change, the news articles and editorials that ensued, and the public's response. The event was found to influence future White House news coverage, the range of subjects deemed suitable for public discussion, and the development of medical journalism.

First Ladies rarely have assumed their duties under less auspicious circumstances than did Elizabeth Bloomer Ford. In the wake of Richard Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974, Gerald and Betty Ford confronted a demoralized White House staff, a suspicious, defensive press corps and a shocked and distracted Congress.[1] The timing was less than ideal from Mrs. Ford's personal standpoint. Weary of political life after her husband's thirteenth term in Congress, she only recently had extracted his promise that he would retire at the end of his next two-year term.[2] Her hopes for a quiet life outside Washington had been dashed when Spiro Agnew resigned and her husband became Nixon's Vice President. Plagued by osteoarthritis and a pinched nerve in her neck, she already was finding it difficult to fulfill her new obligations

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as wife of the Vice President.[3] Within weeks, she would undergo major surgery for breast cancer.

By the time the Fords relinquished the White House to Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, however, Mrs. Ford had made a lasting and highly favorable impression on the American public. She had alerted other women to the benefits of early detection of breast cancer. She had spoken out for feminist causes and helped secure higher and more responsible positions for women in government. During the Presidential election campaigns of 1976, her popularity had risen to the extent that many Ford campaign buttons read "Elect Betty's Husband" or "Keep Betty in the White House."[4] When a sore throat prevented her husband from speaking at the end of the campaign, it was she who read the concession speech to their crushed supporters. In 1982, her accomplishments were ranked by a group of historians as sixth greatest among U.S. First Ladies.[5]

Most scholars who have examined Mrs. Ford's contributions as First Lady have emphasized her championship of feminist causes. Historian Lewis L. Gould, for example, saw Mrs. Ford as an "activist" in the mold of Eleanor Roosevelt.[6] With Lady Bird Johnson and Rosalynn Carter, he said, Mrs. Ford expanded the possibilities of the First Lady's role in the nation. Karen M. Rohrer, an archivist at the Gerald R. Ford Library, cited Mrs. Ford's considerable efforts on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment, which ranged from an information session on the subject for White House staffers to personal telephone calls to legislators on key committees.[7]

Leesa E. Tobin, also an archivist at the Ford library, suggested that Mrs. Ford's most important roles were securing political appointments for women and helping to legitimize feminist issues within the middle class.[8] Both Tobin and feminist scholar Betty Boyd Caroli observed that few Washington insiders had expected Mrs. Ford to make much of a mark as First Lady. Tobin cited a *Washington Post* article from 1954, which asserted that "Mrs. Ford believes that wives of congressmen look better on a speaking platform when they're saying nothing."[9] Caroli noted that Mrs. Ford applied the popular image of a Stepford Wives-style robot to herself when hearing of her husband's elevation to Vice President: "Just wind me up and point me in the right direction, and I'll be there."[10] Mrs. Ford's own words seemed to condemn the notion that political wives should be more than attractive appendages or competent hand-shakers and hostesses.

Presidential Health As News

The press' treatment of Mrs. Ford's mastectomy in September 1974, however, suggested a change of direction. Presidential health had been

followed with intense interest by the news media since Dwight D. Eisenhower's heart attack in 1955.[11] If reports on the subject had not always been accurate, there was at least widespread agreement that the Chief Executive's illness or health was worthy of public discussion. In the 1960 campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, for example, the candidates themselves raised the issue. Though John F. Kennedy had suffered from Addison's Disease and Lyndon Johnson had sustained a heart attack, each questioned the other's health and declared himself more physically fit for office.[12] Two of Kennedy's physicians were pressed into service and released a carefully worded description of his disease as an "adrenal insufficiency" that would not hamper his on-the-job performance.[13] After Johnson succeeded Kennedy as President, he was equally cautious with reports about his health. He underwent a highly secret operation for skin cancer, but willingly displayed his scar after a gallbladder operation.[14]

First Ladies, in contrast, had demanded and been accorded more privacy. In 1957, for example, when Mamie Eisenhower underwent a hysterectomy at Walter Reed Medical Hospital, reporters were told only that a gynecologist had performed "a two-hour operation . . . similar to those many women undergo in middle age."[15] Soon after John F. Kennedy's election in 1960, Jacqueline Kennedy let it be known that she expected a similar level of privacy. While recuperating from the birth of John Jr., she read in the *Washington Post* an account of her son's arrival explaining that she had been rushed to Georgetown University Hospital after she began to hemorrhage. She sent word to the *Post*'s editors that the use of that particular phrase was in questionable taste.[16] Mrs. Kennedy also concealed from reporters her treatment for headaches and depression following John Jr.'s birth.[17]

Mrs. Ford, however, submitted to interviews about her health while she was still wife of the Vice President. She talked openly with the *Washington Post* about her "neck spasms," for which she acknowledged taking prescription drugs and consulting a psychiatrist.[18] Her admission to the hospital for a breast biopsy was announced before the biopsy took place. Moreover, the diagnosis and course of action were described to reporters while she was still on the operating table.[19] Several scholars have discussed the importance of her openness about the mastectomy in helping to establish her popularity.[20] Caroli, however, credits Mrs. Ford with acknowledging the truth but downplays her role in deciding how to treat the issue.[21]

Press coverage of Mrs. Ford's mastectomy merits a closer look for several reasons. First, coming so soon after her husband's elevation to President, the operation provided an early test of the Ford Administration and its press officers. Similarly, as a news event involving the First Family,

it provided an opportunity for the White House press corps to adjust its reporting in the wake of Watergate. In addition, since the event focused directly on a First Lady still unfamiliar to the general public, it promised to set the stage for her future activities in the White House. Finally, while Mrs. Ford has been hailed as a role model for breast cancer prevention, the implications of her operation for medical news coverage may not have been fully explored. The level of coverage accorded by at least two influential newspapers to stories about cancer, for example, increased in the years immediately following her operation.

This study will attempt to answer the following questions:

1) What factors figured into the decision to break with tradition and "go public" with Mrs. Ford's story?
2) What significance did major newspapers attach to the story?
3) How did readers, opinion writers and trade publications respond?

The study will focus on newspaper articles from five large and influential newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Atlanta Constitution,* and the *Los Angeles Times*, beginning with the announcement of Mrs. Ford's biopsy on September 28, 1974, and continuing through October 31, two weeks after her return to the White House. In an effort to explain the decision favoring openness, the study also will examine autobiographies of the Fords and their press secretaries, Ron Nessen and Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, and articles and comment in three media trade publications, *Broadcasting*, *Editor & Publisher,* and *Columbia Journalism Review.*[22]

Post-Watergate Candor

Mrs. Ford was admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital six weeks after her husband's swearing-in as President and only three weeks after his pardon of former President Nixon. The timing was significant and undoubtedly figured in decisions about how the operation was covered. Watergate influenced both the media and the new Administration the media sought to cover. Media trade publications of the day were filled with openness and access issues.[23] Topics of intense debate included the frequency of White House news conferences, the format of the news conferences, and access rights to the Nixon White House tapes.

The change in administration had brought new faces to the White House press corps, including National Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Ron Nessen. He and many of his colleagues had watched the

reporters who covered Nixon get "scooped" on the Watergate story by the unlikely team of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. The newcomers were eager to prove themselves and determined not to repeat the mistakes of their predecessors.[24] Their relationship with President Ford, however, had gotten off to a rocky start with Ford's pardon of Nixon. Jerald terHorst, a highly regarded print journalist who had worked as Ford's press secretary for less than a month, resigned in protest. A barrage of editorials criticizing Ford's decision ensued.[25]

The Fords were well aware of the need for change. Shortly after pardoning Nixon, President Ford held a press conference and pledged to be open and candid with the media. As his second press secretary, he chose Ron Nessen, whose skill and objectivity had impressed him even before Nessen's appointment by NBC as White House correspondent. Nessen quickly set out to mend Ford's relationships with reporters. During his first week on the job, he discussed with his staff ways to "give the appearance of being more open."[26] Although the statement initially may have referred only to openness in political matters, it soon would be applied to more personal issues.

The President also worked to put symbolic distance between his Administration and that of his predecessor. He banished electronic listening devices in the Oval Office and forbade the Marine band to play "Hail to the Chief."[27] At the first gala social event he and Mrs. Ford held, the couple did not retire after the entertainment, as had been the Nixons' custom. Instead, the Fords remained with their guests and danced long into the night.[28]

Undoubtedly, Mrs. Ford's attitude toward the role of First Lady differed from that of Mrs. Nixon. Soon after the Nixons' departure, one holdover from their staff drew up a list of activities he considered appropriate for the new First Lady. The list included entertaining veterans, giving interviews to women's magazines, planning a fashion show and teaching Sunday School.[29] Mrs. Ford, however, had other ideas. At the first full-fledged press conference a First Lady had held since 1952, she told reporters she favored greater political participation by women, agreed with the recent Supreme Court decision on abortion, and planned to work for the Equal Rights Amendment.

While recuperating from her mastectomy, she replaced two high-ranking members of Mrs. Nixon's staff with women of her own choosing. She also made changes to the White House living quarters. The former First Lady's bedroom was transformed into a study, and a double bed was placed in the President's bedroom.[30] The new arrangements allowed Mrs. Ford greater access to the President—and possibly more opportunity for influence—than was possible for the previous First Lady.

Feminism and Self-Help

The Fords' arrival at the White House also coincided with sweeping social changes. Business and social institutions were less trusted in the 1970s than in the 1950s and early 1960s. Many people were less reliant on institutions to solve problems. They looked instead to themselves and to support groups. The decade of self-help had arrived.[31] Feminism also was in full flower, and radical feminist perspectives were brought to bear on social institutions. Feminist authors such as Germaine Greer in *The Female Eunuch* (1970) and Betty Friedan in *The Feminist Mystique* (first issued in 1963) addressed issues such as the emasculation of women by patriarchy and the need for women to receive more education. Their themes and those of other feminist writers gave rise to two popular slogans of the day, "The personal is the political" and "Sisterhood is powerful."[32]

At least two publications took on the issue of misogyny in medicine. In a pamphlet titled *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses—A History of Women Healers*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English argued that the historical suppression of women healers had paved the way for male medical professionals.[33] In addition, a report by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare found that physicians and hospitals often took women's complaints less seriously and treated their illnesses less aggressively than those of men. The report was based largely on the personal experiences of the department's own female staff members.[34]

Feminism and other cultural trends merged seamlessly in *Our Bodies, Ourselves: A Book By and For Women*. Published by the Boston Women's Health Collective in 1971 and again in 1973, the medical self-help manual promoted the idea that women's health concerns deserved the same level of attention as men's. It contained chapters on topics such as female anatomy and physiology, venereal diseases, birth control, childbearing and menopause. It also outlined the symptoms and treatment options for a host of gynecological problems.

A section on breast cancer explained the difference between simple and radical mastectomies and included a how-to diagram for breast self-examinations. Advertised by word-of-mouth and notices in women's and New Left publications, the first printing had sold 250,000 copies by the time its authors signed with Simon & Schuster in 1973. The book's influence in the United States has been likened to that of the Bible and Rush Limbaugh.[35]

A Decision for Openness

Although Mrs. Ford participated in decisions related to media coverage of her mastectomy, the extent of her involvement early in the

process is unclear. Her own staff had not yet been appointed, so the matter was handled through Nessen, who regarded the situation as his "first crisis."[36] In his memoirs, Nessen recalled that he and the President decided to delay the announcement of Mrs. Ford's biopsy until she had completed her scheduled activities and entered the hospital. Nessen also took credit for making information and experts available to the press while the operation was still under way. "Except for the brief initial concealment, we made the decision to be extraordinarily candid and complete in reporting on her operation and aftermath . . . . We produced doctors for briefings, which were so detailed and technical in parts that they might have stumped a medical class."[37]

Gerald Ford's account of the event is consistent with Nessen's, though his emphasis is more on his feelings at the time and less on the decisionmaking process. Mrs. Ford's biography, however, claims the decision favoring openness as her own. "Lying in the hospital, thinking of all those women going to cancer checkups because of me, I'd come to recognize more closely the power of the women in the White House," she wrote. "Not my power, but the power of the position, a power which could be used to help."[38]

Regardless of who made the decision, considerable detail about the operation, the medical decisions and treatment, and the patient's health status were provided to reporters starting in the late afternoon of September 28.[39] Had Mrs. Ford not concurred, the reports could have been stopped and the media asked to allow her more privacy. The reports did not stop. News updates and related information continued to flow from the hospital twice daily through October 3 and then once daily until her discharge.[40] She posed for photographers with her family and provided information to be used by reporters. As a result of the publicity, she received 55,800 cards and messages of goodwill from the general public. About 10 percent of the personal letters came from women who had undergone a similar operation.[41]

Makes Front Page News

Mrs. Ford's breast cancer made headlines in leading newspapers across the country. The five newspapers examined for this study not only paid attention to the story, but gave it prominent treatment. All five published at least three front-page articles about her illness during her two-week hospitalization. Those articles announced her biopsy, reported her mastectomy and discussed the finding that cancer had spread to her lymph nodes. All five newspapers also reported her return to the White House, though only *The Washington Post* placed that news on its front

page.[42] All the newspapers ran at least one photo of Mrs. Ford to accompany the mastectomy story.

The *Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the Chicago *Tribune* augmented their coverage with other front-page stories about her treatment or progress. Front-page placement occurred most often in the *Post*. In a story headlined "Study Questions Operation," the *Post* reported results from a new, National Cancer Institute report about the relative merits of three types of breast cancer treatments.[43] It followed two days later with criticisms of that study.

After the White House released a photo of Mrs. Ford in her hospital bed reading a get-well card from the Senate, the *Post* placed that on its front page. The *Los Angeles Times* gave front-page placement to a story titled "Wife 'Would Want Me Here,' Somber Ford Tells Summit," which dealt with the strain of Mrs. Ford's surgery on the President.[44] The *Los Angeles Times* also reprinted on its front page a *Post* article, "Mrs. Ford Tired but Takes a Few Steps," about Mrs. Ford's condition the day after her surgery.[45] It ran the White House photo of Mrs. Ford on its front page to accompany a United Press International story about her progress.[46] The *Chicago Tribune* gave front-page placement to a UPI story analyzing the possible effects of Mrs. Ford's health on the 1976 Presidential campaign, titled "Ford Hints '76 Switch Because of Wife."[47] In all, the *Post* ran seven front-page articles or photos; the *Los Angeles Times*, six; the *Chicago Tribune*, four; *The New York Times*, three; and the *Atlanta Constitution*, three.

Although newspapers considered Mrs. Ford's story important, they differed in their focus. Some emphasized medical issues, while others looked more closely at political or human interest angles. From the start, *The Washington Post* emphasized medical issues. On the same day it reported Mrs. Ford's admission to Bethesda Naval Hospital, for example, the *Post* published a companion article, "One Woman in 15 Develops Cancer of the Breast in U.S."[48] The article not only discussed the incidence of the disease but also the controversy surrounding radical mastectomies, and the development of demonstration centers to promote advanced breast cancer detection techniques. Over the next three days, the *Post* provided two other medical companion pieces to its stories about Mrs. Ford's surgery and progress.[49] In both cases, the stories ran under a common headline on the paper's front page accompanied by at least one photo.

The New York Times also emphasized medical issues, but it explored a broader range of angles. Its family section article, "After Breast Cancer Operation, A Difficult Emotional Adjustment," was the only one among those examined to discuss the psychological effects of breast cancer.[50] In

addition, it was the only newspaper in the group to publish an article with diagrams showing how to conduct a breast self-examination for potentially cancerous lumps.[51] *The New York Times* also reported on how the First Lady's illness affected her family, but it tended to carry such news as sidebars. The day after Mrs. Ford's surgery, for example, a short, United Press International article saying that her husband might choose not to run in the 1976 presidential election campaign was placed beneath a longer article detailing her condition and progress.[52]

The *Los Angeles Times*, in contrast, focused more on the President and political issues. On the day it reported Mrs. Ford's mastectomy, its major companion pieces dealt with the cost of her hospital suite, the President's reaction to her operation and his cancellation of a trip to the West.[53] An article on the President's reaction to his wife's diagnosis appeared even higher on the front page than the news of her mastectomy. The article reported that "Gerald Ford showed his mettle" in speaking at the event despite the diagnosis of a malignancy. "His square-set shoulders were hunched over the microphone and his hand trembled as he turned the pages of manuscript," the reporter noted. "But he kept his head down, and the only certain evidence of strong emotions held in check was an unaccustomed falter in the usually firm Midwestern tones."[54]

Treatment of Mrs. Ford's operation in the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Chicago Tribune* was more conventional than in the other papers. Perhaps because of its more-conservative readership, the *Constitution* tended to emphasize the human interest angles of Mrs. Ford's operation, as was the case in "Mrs. Ford Delighted by Bob Hope Visit."[55] The Atlanta paper was the only newspaper other than the *Post* to carry articles about Susan Ford's efforts as White House hostess in her mother's absence, which included "Ford, 17-Year-Old Susan Host Diplomatic Corps."[56]

Although the *Constitution* did publish a series of articles based on a new book about breast cancer, the series was not keyed to its stories about Mrs. Ford.[57] The *Constitution* published only one staff-written article related to breast cancer, "More Checking for Cancer Now," which explained how to perform a breast self-examination.[58] Illustrations were omitted. The *Tribune* published the fewest articles related to Mrs. Ford's operation and generally emphasized her treatment and progress. Exceptions included two stories in the paper's Metropolitan section, one titled "Thousands Seek Breast Cancer Examinations and Information," which dealt with women's increasing requests for breast examinations,[59] and the other a report by its science editor on new cancer detection techniques, "Detection Plan Raises Hopes in Cancer Fight."[60]

Broader Angles, Wider Scope

Mrs. Ford's breast cancer prompted news stories on a variety of medical issues, particularly in newspapers that employed science or medical writers. In Washington, D.C., news of Mrs. Ford's biopsy coincided with long-awaited results from a National Cancer Institute study of three breast cancer treatment options. Medical writer Victor Cohn of *The Washington Post* quickly grasped the relevance of the study ro the First Lady's situation, which he explained in a front page story.[61] Other newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune*, followed with their own versions of the story.[62] Cohn also wrote separate stories about the incidence of breast cancer among women in general and about criticisms of the Cancer Institute study.

At *The New York Times*, veteran medical reporter Jane Brody filed five stories during Mrs. Ford's hospitalization.[63] Her contributions included analyzing the new Cancer Institute study, explaining why fast action was important in breast cancer cases, and describing the increasing requests for appointments at breast cancer clinics. At the *Los Angeles Times*, medical writer Harry Nelson discussed treatment options and incorporated statistics in his highly detailed accounts of Mrs. Ford's operation and lab reports. The *Post* and *New York Times* also devoted separate articles to several less-commonly covered issues such as post-operative chemotherapy, the psychological effects of breast cancer and patient participation in decision making.

Among the most unusual articles was a first-person account of breast cancer, "Breast Cancer Surgery," which appeared in the *Post*'s "Outlook" section. The article explained the advantages and disadvantages of five types of breast cancer surgery, described the author's difficulties in finding a suitable surgeon, and illustrated with a line drawing the position of the lymph nodes in relation to the breasts.[64]

The *Atlanta Constitution* confined its discussion of medical issues primarily to a series of five articles written by Philip Strax, a medical doctor and author of the book, *Early Detection: Breast Cancer Is Curable*. The series, a condensation of the book in question-and-answer format, dealt with breast cancer issues such as self-examination, surgical options, personal risk, and incidence of the disease.[65] The *Constitution* also localized its coverage of the breast cancer issue with a staff-written article describing a seminar on breast cancer detection sponsored by a Cobb County hospital.[66]

The Public - Private Issue

Mrs. Ford's breast cancer drew considerable comment, from both editorial writers and newspaper readers. Three of the five newspapers reviewed for this study carried editorials related to Mrs. Ford's breast

cancer. *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* each carried two. All of the editorials were complimentary to Mrs. Ford. "Mrs. Ford has set an admirable example in dealing forthrightly with an area still frequently beclouded by irrational flights from reality," said *The New York Times*, only one day after her operation. In that editorial, *"Mrs. Ford's Ordeal,"* the *Times* noted that advances in research and increasing efforts at early detection had "dramatically improved the cancer victim's chances of return to full health."[67] When Happy Rockefeller, the wife of the Vice President-designate, detected a lump in her breast and underwent a mastectomy three weeks after Mrs. Ford's, a *Times* editorial titled "Courage vs. Cancer" again stressed the advantages of early detection and praised both women for setting "an admirable example for the response to the disease with the means now available."[68]

In "Two Courageous Women," the *Chicago Tribune* likewise applauded their example, saying they "had what it takes to face a dreadful fact and act on it promptly . . . .They will now, we are sure, teach women everywhere [and men, too] the second part of this lesson: that the loss of a cancerous breast is not a life-shattering tragedy."[69] The *Tribune* also carried an editorial criticizing news coverage of the issue by columnist Mary McGrory of the Washington Star-News Syndicate. McGrory fretted about the effect of the publicity on the First Lady, observing that Mrs. Ford was not an elected official: "People say that since it's the First Lady, we have the right to know, but do we? What about her right to privacy?"[70] The *Atlanta Constitution* carried a short, staff-written editorial about Mrs. Ford on October 3. It called her "a woman of courage," noting not quite accurately that she "appeared at a Washington ceremony, smiling and gracious, after learning that she had breast cancer and faced an operation."[71]

The *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* also published letters to the editor commenting on Mrs. Ford's breast cancer and the media's efforts to inform readers about the issues surrounding it. At least two letters noted that publicity of the operation had highlighted the need for regular medical check-ups and breast self-examinations.[72] Other letters raised questions about the quality of breast cancer research and treatment. One former breast cancer patient described an article about surgical options in the *Post* as "informative and interesting . . . I learned more from the article than from my surgeons," she wrote.[73] Another *Post* reader commented on the standard biopsy-radical mastectomy chosen to treat Mrs. Ford:

> Isn't it strange that with all the ingenious accomplishments to our nation's credit, our First Lady is still given a conventional treatment used 22 years ago, and for that matter, many decades before that, to assure the cure for the illness? . . .

> Contrary to the ad which proclaims that we women "have come a long way," breast cancer treatment generally seems stymied on the doorstep to the 20th century. Are our priorities out of line?[74]

A reader of the *Los Angeles Times* proposed that the federal government inaugurate a cancer-detection campaign to help stamp out breast cancer and that it provide the testing without charge.[75]

Although letters to the editor often praised Mrs. Ford, some readers were concerned about the effect of the extensive news coverage on her well-being or that of other cancer patients. "Do you think it is important that the whole world know of her misfortune?" asked a *Los Angeles Times* reader. "This is a very private and traumatic experience and should be handled with delicacy."[76] A *Post* reader questioned that paper's use of cancer-survival statistics. "I am a cancer patient under care at NIH," she wrote. "Until I read your paper I had thought that my chances were very good of leading a normal life."[77]

One of the most blistering commentaries on press coverage came from Mary Foley, then president of the National Student Nurses Association. She decried the "sports event" atmosphere surrounding Mrs. Ford's surgery and called the publication of details related to the First Lady's diagnosis and prognosis a "serious breach of medical ethics . . . . Even the President was subject to hearing first-hand reports of his wife's condition on the radio or TV, handled in a very impersonal and unprofessional way."[78]

Educating the Media

While readers were busy discussing the levels of press coverage accorded the First Lady's operation and raising questions about related issues, media trade publications were largely preoccupied with Watergate and the Nixon tapes. Nevertheless, several articles in *Broadcasting*, *Editor & Publisher* and *Columbia Journalism Review* dealt with Mrs. Ford or breast cancer issues. The most directly relevant appeared in *Editor & Publisher* under the headline "Breast Cancer Stories Have News Interest." The article described information available to reporters from the American Cancer Society and provided comment from medical writers and Cancer Society officials.

Jane Brody, a reporter for *The New York Times,* described the audience for her stories as "captive." "I had no trouble at all getting the space I felt the breast cancer stories needed."[79] A wire service reporter attributed the public's interest to "a combination of Mrs. Ford's mastectomy and the

NIH report suggesting a less radical surgical procedure might produce results just as good as the traditional operation.[80] Marv Munro, director of public information of the New York City division of the American Cancer Society, said media coverage on breast cancer had been responsible and "contributed substantially in motivating women in getting examinations."[81] The article carried advice from the Society's director of press suggesting that the use of the word "breakthrough" be banned from cancer coverage. The trouble with some reporting, he said, is that reports of advances are sometimes exaggerated and give readers false hope. The article also noted that some newspapers had elected not to use pictures of breasts.[82]

Broadcasting followed closely Ron Nessen's activities as press secretary and Gerald Ford's efforts to court the media but took no notice of Mrs. Ford's breast cancer or media coverage of related issues. *Columbia Journalism Review* also ignored Mrs. Ford. Its publication of a scathing attack on the medical bureaucracy in January 1975, however, might have been prompted by the news stories she generated. The article, "A Critical Look at Cancer Coverage," by the publisher of a Washington-based newsletter, *Science & Government Report*, questioned the medical bureaucracy's insistence on "cautious optimism" in the nation's widely publicized war on cancer. Using American Cancer Society statistics, the article argued that cancer survival rates had risen from about one in five in the 1930s to one in three by the mid-1970s but that much of the improvement stemmed from the postwar introduction of antibiotics and blood transfusions. Thus, more patients were not surviving cancer, but rather cancer operations that previously killed them. "It is useful to contemplate certain curious and gruesome parallels that are beginning to appear between the reporting of this 'war' and the early bulletins from Vietnam," he wrote.[83]

The Cancer Society's heated reply appeared as a letter to the editor in the following issue of the *Review*. Written by the Society's science editor and titled "ACS Defends 'Cautious Optimism,'" the letter challenged the publisher's scientific credentials, cited Society efforts to prevent cancer and improve cancer detection, and blamed patients for the disappointing improvements in survival. "Omitted in the article is the essential fact that it would be possible to save one in two patients if they would do for themselves what they can, using knowledge we have in hand today regarding early diagnosis, and known, effective treatment," the editor wrote.[84]

The Washington Post picked up the medical accountability story in mid-January.[85] Over the next three years, the *Post*'s coverage of cancer-related issues increased substantially. *The Washington Post Index* lists 435

articles about cancer published between 1975 and 1977 compared with 217 articles in the three years preceding Mrs. Ford's operation. News coverage of cancer at *The New York Times* also increased over the same period. The *Times* index listings for cancer span 38 columns for the years 1975 to 1977 compared with 30 for 1971 to 1973.

Competing Frames for Breast Cancer

Based on the articles discussed above, Mrs. Ford's breast cancer was presented in approximately six different frames: "Common Killer"; "Survivable and Treatable Illness"; "Medical Controversy"; "Test of the President"; "Celebrity Patient"; and "Private Experience."

The first frame, "Common Killer," emphasized the disease as the problem and constant surveillance as an important solution. Breast cancer was depicted as frequently occurring, unpredictable, fear-inducing, and shrouded in secrecy. Articles in this category, such as the *Atlanta Constitution*'s editorial praising Mrs. Ford's courage and *The New York Times*' article on psychological effects, often incorporated statistics on breast cancer mortality rates and noted the importance of medical screening and breast self-examination.

A second frame, "Survivable and Treatable Illness," emphasized public misinformation as the problem and better education as the remedy. Typically more upbeat than those in the "Common Killer" category, this group often focused on Mrs. Ford's optimism in the face of the diagnosis and her swift recovery. Exemplified by the *Chicago Times*' front page report that Mrs. Ford was walking and sitting up in bed within a few hours of her operation, the stories often depicted her as bright, confident, hopeful, or laughing and joking.

Another group of stories framed the story as a "Medical Controversy" and emphasized the problem of unanswered scientific questions or the need for better research. Examples included *Columbia Journalism Review*'s article questioning the American Cancer Society's claims of progress in fighting cancer and *The Washington Post*'s first person account of a cancer patient's difficulties in deciding between treatment options.

Three other frames occurred with less regularity. The "Test of the President" frame focused on the cancer operation's potential to hamper President Ford and blamed the problem on his understandable stress or his concern for his wife. Articles in this category often described changes in his appearance, such as his pale face, or changes in his schedule.

Another frame, "Celebrity Patient," treated Mrs. Ford as a celebrity by virtue of her status as First Lady and often focused on public curiosity about her hospital stay. Articles in this group, exemplified by the story

about Bob Hope's visit, often provided substantial detail about her room, clothing, meals or guests.

The sixth frame, "Private Matter," identified the problem as inappropriate news content and criticized the news media for irresponsible reporting. Several letters to the editor fell into this category, as did the one from student nurse Mary Foley.

By far, the most frequently occurring frames were "Common Killer" and "Survivable and Treatable Illness." The ideas that the public was interested primarily in Mrs. Ford's housecoats and hospital room decor or that her situation might be too private for news stories were less often represented.

Health News As Major News

The treatment of Betty Ford's breast cancer story marked a significant change in news coverage of the White House. Reporters' close attention to the First Lady's surgery, including its emotional impact on her husband and family, expanded the watchdog function of the White House press corps beyond the Presidency itself. The scope of coverage suggested that all the people and events surrounding the President stood to influence him and, by extension, the welfare of the nation. Thus, all such people and events were newsworthy. The occurrence of Mrs. Ford's surgery so soon after Watergate, the new administration's need to shed the trappings of Nixon's "imperial Presidency," the anti-establishment, pro-feminist cultural climate, and Mrs. Ford's own personality and inclination toward openness all figured in the change of direction.

Newspaper coverage of Mrs. Ford's breast cancer also set the stage for changes in medical journalism. Major newspapers paid close attention to her diagnosis, treatment and progress and often displayed their stories prominently. Some also delved into a wide variety of related medical issues. The issues most frequently covered included incidence, survival rates, early detection and treatment options.

The novelty of breast cancer surgery as a front page topic is suggested by editorial writers' frequent allusions to Mrs. Ford's openness or courage. Yet while readers sometimes criticized the intensity with which Mrs. Ford's operation was covered, the need for public education about breast cancer rarely was questioned. Readers were more likely to comment on the stories' helpfulness or informational value. Medical writers and trade publications alike noted the fascination that the breast cancer stories held for the general public.

Newspaper and public response to the stories allowed for further public discussion of breast cancer and other taboo health topics. Within a

few weeks of Mrs. Ford's surgery, Happy Rockefeller followed Mrs. Ford's lead by "going public" with news of her mastectomy. By the 1980s, as Ronald Reagan's physical examinations would illustrate, not even surgery for intestinal polyps was considered off limits for discussion.[86]

In addition, Mrs. Ford's ordeal highlighted the potential of newspapers as a channel for encouraging healthy behaviors. It suggested that the First Family and other newsmakers could function as role models. The American Hospital Association recently recognized Mrs. Ford's contributions in promoting awareness, education and treatment of both breast cancer and substance addiction by naming her the recipient of its strategy and marketing group's annual C. Everett Koop Health Advocate Award.[87]

Finally, reader enthusiasm for information about breast cancer helped to elevate health-related stories to increased prominence within newspapers. As demonstrated by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, news coverage of cancer increased at some leading papers in the wake of Mrs. Ford's operation. The event thus provided opportunities for reporters interested in writing about medicine. At *The New York Times*, for example, Jane Brody's articles about breast cancer and other health topics attracted a large following. Her writings later were syndicated, which led to several books and a television series.[88] Today's journalists are more inclined than their predecessors of the pre-Ford era to view medical news as major news. The public, consequently, is better informed about many health-related issues.

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Endnotes

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[18]Donnie Radcliff, "Betty Ford: Coping with New Visibility, Not Quite the 'Plain Country Girl,'" *Washington Post*, 21 July 1974, M9.

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[25]Rozell, p. 53.

[26]Nessen, p. 18.

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[28]Gerald R. Ford, p. 141.

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[30]Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, *First Lady's Lady* (New York, 1979), p. 38.

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[36]Nessen, p. 19.

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[41]Rohrer, p. 145.

[42]A large photo of the President, Mrs. Ford, and Susan Ford ran on A1; the related article, on A2.

[43]Victor Cohn, "Study Questions Operation," *The Washington Post*, 29 September 1974, A1.

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[46]"Mrs. Ford Glad Her Illness May be Aiding Others," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 October 1974, sec. 1, p. 1.

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Journalism of the Suffrage Movement: 25 Years of Recent Scholarship

By Elizabeth V. Burt

Woman suffrage publications have provided a fertile field for historic scholarship in the last two decades. This historiographic essay reviews this scholarship and suggests new areas to be examined and an interdisciplinary approach that makes use of other disciplines, such as rhetorical analysis and social movement theory.

In the last two decades scholars of women's history and media history have found the subject of woman suffrage publications to be a fertile field for investigation. Broadly speaking, the work produced by these scholars can be placed in three categories. The first of these consists of studies that establish the basic history of suffrage publications and their editors, describe the message or messages they produced, and weave this material together with a description of the development of the suffrage movement in general or the particular suffrage organization that issued each publication. A second type of scholarship seeks to identify the basic functions of the suffrage press and how it served the suffrage movement in expressing its beliefs and goals and in recruiting, mobilizing, and sustaining support and membership. Third, and more recently, scholarship has looked to other disciplines such as rhetorical analysis and social movement theory to interpret and explain the *processes* and *interactions* involved in the publication of woman suffrage journals.

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Histories of the Suffrage Movement

Examples of the first category—what we might call the basic history of suffrage publications—include work by scholars such as Sherilyn Cox Bennion, who studied Western suffrage papers,[1] and Lynn Masel-Walters, who examined the two best-known national publications—Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's short-lived *Revolution*, and the Blackwell family's *Woman's Journal,* which came to be the official organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association.[2] This approach is also used by Marilyn Dell Brady in her study of the *Farmer's Wife*, which from 1891-1894 preached suffrage to the women of the Farmer's Alliance.[3]

Here I have used the word "first" in both the chronological and developmental sense. Indeed, the first scholarship on woman suffrage publications appearing in the 1970s was of this type. But, since more than 30 suffrage journals were published during the seven decades of the woman's rights movement, this continues to be an area rich in sources yet to be uncovered, and scholars continue to start from the beginning by establishing basic information about these publications. Recent scholarship of this type includes work by Linda Lumsden on the *Suffragist*, the publication of the National Women's Party,[4] and Kathleen Endres and Therese Lueck's 1996 volume on women's social and political periodicals, which devotes more than a dozen brief descriptive chapters to publications of the suffrage movement by as many scholars.[5]

Function of the Suffrage Press

In a second phase, scholars moved beyond the basic histories to attempt to identify the functions of the suffrage press and how scholars might explain the life of the movement. In her 1983 study of five suffrage publications, Linda Steiner finds they established a sense of community among suffragists who were often separated by great distances and unable to meet face-to-face. In addition, Steiner finds, the papers "illustrated alternative versions of a satisfying lifestyle for women" that allowed suffragists to gradually move from their symbolic identification with the "true woman" of the 19th century to the "new woman" of the 20th.[6]

In further research, Steiner argues that another function of the suffrage press was "to do journalism differently" than the mainstream press. She finds that suffrage editors rejected the professional principles and business practices of the 19th century commercial press, did not promise facticity and objectivity, and often made decisions on moral or personal rather than professional grounds. While these principles might have given suffrage publications their individual and sometimes unique

identity and may have satisfied the individual interests and ambitions of their editors, they also explained why so many were so short-lived.[7]

Lynn Masel-Walters looks at the internal organization of suffrage papers to explain their role in the movement. In her examination of the publication and financial records of suffrage journals, Masel-Walters concludes that chronic underfunding, low circulation, competition from a "glut" of suffrage periodicals, failure to provide professional trained paid staffs, and the failure to appeal to a heterogeneous audience including men, working women, and women of color all led to the short life of most 19th century suffrage publications. These short lifespans, which, according to Masel-Walters, averaged 7.5 years, in turn contributed to the failure of the movement to bring about change during the period before 1900. Masel-Walters finds that after 1900, instead, suffrage publications were more professional; that is, they took advantage of improvements in technology, had more women with professional journalism experience on their staffs, and were more successful in dividing labor among the leaders of the cause.[8]

The Rhetoric of Suffrage Publications

The third type of scholarship I have identified takes advantage of other disciplines such as rhetorical analysis and social movement theory to enrich techniques and perspectives of women's history. This development points to a certain maturing in the field because it represents the type of multidisciplinary approach called for by historians James Carey, Mary Ann Yodelis Smith, and Catherine Mitchell.[9]

Several studies combining historical scholarship with rhetorical analysis have been collected in a single volume edited by Martha Solomon entitled *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910.*[10] Here a variety of authors attempt to identify the rhetorical interaction at the core of the process by which the first gathering of feminists at Seneca Falls "molded itself into a social movement with sufficient viability to achieve its goals."[11] In her discussion of the *Una*, Mari Boor Tonn shows how that early feminist journal published morally uplifting materials that were only tangential to women's rights but made readers aware of the larger community of women.[12] In his analysis of *The Lily*, Edward A. Hinck shows how that publication gradually linked topics acceptable within the woman's sphere such as temperance to the need for changes in woman's status.[13] Once women became aware of this need, Solomon argues, they were ready to hear the more explicit suffrage arguments put forward by the *Revolution* and the *Woman's Journal*, whose main rhetorical function, beyond raising consciousness, was to provide supporters with the information they needed to participate in the movement.[14]

According to E. Claire Jenny, rhetoric also could be employed to create the history of the movement and even to establish the leadership of women like Clara Bewick Colby. Though never an officer of either of the national suffrage organizations, Colby established her place in the national movement through her *Woman's Tribune*.[15] Rhetoric also was employed simply to establish the legitimacy and importance of the movement in the minds of political and opinion leaders, Marsha Vanderford finds in her study of the *Woman's Column*, which was published expressly for these individuals.[16]

Also using the rhetorical approach, Linda Steiner extends her previous research on suffrage communities by identifying the rhetorical strategies behind the evolving identities of the "new woman" expressed in suffrage publications. She identifies three distinct types of ideal woman as emerging in the journals: the sensible woman, the strong-minded woman, and the responsible woman. Steiner finds these ideals were projected in different publications through the selection of topics, language, and illustration in ever-changing patterns that evolved over time. She points out that suffrage editors were often uncertain or undecided over these ideals and this can be seen in their publications, which frequently offered conflicting, even contradictory messages.[17] Nevertheless, Steiner believes, through these rhetorical devices, the journals allowed women to construct "meaningful, if only provisional, definitions for themselves."[18]

Social Movement Theory and Suffrage Publications

Social movement theory also provides a useful addition to the toolbox of the scholar of woman suffrage publications.[19] In my own research, I have used the concepts of grassroots social movements and their bureaucratization in examining the power struggles that existed within the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association. This research is informed by social movement theory that describes the natural aging of social movements as moving from the loosely defined, creatively energetic grassroots stage, in which members all have the possibility of playing equal roles, to the highly organized (and tightly controlled) bureaucratic phase in which authority and decision making are vested in one or two individuals.

Ironically, the better organized and more structured a movement is, the less responsive it is to its members and the less radical in its demands.[20] By contrasting the evidence provided by organizational records of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association and the correspondence of its members with the material that was actually printed in the association's publication, the *Wisconsin Citizen*, I conclude that far from serving as a "marketplace for ideas" for suffragists, the *Wisconsin Citizen* was dominated

in different periods by two powerful leaders who often suppressed the free flow of ideas.[21]

Social movement theory concerning counter-movements is also useful in the study of suffrage publications—or rather in the study of their mirror images, anti-suffrage publications.[22] Once again in my own research I have examined the *Remonstrance,* the publication of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (MAOFESW). Social movement theory proposes that counter-movements are doomed to being reactive to the social movements they are opposing and are trapped by the negative rhetoric they must employ to counter the movement's claims. I find the *Remonstrance*, indeed, failed to initiate action or claims of its own. Further, I argue that its anti-suffrage ideology was reflected in the organizational structure of both the MAOFESW and the *Remonstrance.*[23]

New Avenues for Research

The journalism of woman suffrage is a field that has been barely touched. Once the scholar moves beyond the histories of individual suffrage publications and biographies of their editors, there is a wide range of topics suggested by the multi-disciplinary approach. Social movement theory alone, which encompasses a number of concepts such as "resource mobilization," "network ties," "grassroots organizations," "structural bureaucratization," "social movement systems," and "counter-movements," suggests many topics for future exploration.

Resource Mobilization

Resource mobilization theory leads us to ask what resources were available to organizers, leaders and members, and how well they took advantage of them in establishing and maintaining the suffrage publication, using it to plan collective action, and to attain movement goals.[24] We might ask, for example, in the case of the *Woman's Journal*, how the Blackwell family used its social and political connections (resources) to win the editorship of the *Journal*, gain financial support, and attract subscribers.

Was the family able to call in the good faith it had earned through its participation in other social and political movement activities, such as the anti-slavery movement? How much was the Blackwell name worth as a resource? How much was the name of Mary A. Livermore worth as the *Journal's* first editor? Were the subscription lists of Livermore's *Agitator* and of A.J. Boyer's *Woman's Advocate* (both of which merged into the

Woman's Journal) important resources in the launching of the paper? How successful were they in lending the *Journal* a national flavor?

Network Ties

By examining network ties between members of a suffrage organization and other organizations, we can trace how a power base may be built, how resources can be stockpiled, and how individuals can gain strength from the networks to which they belong.[25] For example, to what networks—political, social, religious, professional, community—did suffrage editors belong that provided them with resources and support? Professional networks are especially relevant when we consider that several scholars describing suffrage publications point out that the majority of their editors had no training or experience as journalists and because of this their publications suffered.[26]

We should remember, however, that especially during the 19th century, there were very few women anywhere with training in journalism and even the few who worked for mainstream newspapers and magazines got their experience on the job. Like many other reform editors, woman suffrage editors often took the editorial chair not because they had experience working on a daily paper, but because they had the ability to write and organize and were dedicated to the cause their journal advocated. After the mid-1880s, however, these women did have an important resource—the women's press associations that sprang up across the country following the establishment of the National Woman's Press Association in 1885. These organizations provided moral support for women journalists as well as training sessions and practical advice.[27]

By studying the records of women's press organizations and contemporary trade journals, we discover that several suffrage editors were members and, in some cases, officers. For example, Cora Bewick Colby, editor of the *Woman's Tribune* from 1883-1909, was a member of the Woman's National Press Association, the Woman's National Press Union, and was a delegate to the National Federation of Press Clubs in 1891.[28] Emma D. Pack, editor and co-owner of the pro-suffrage *Farmer's Wife* from 1891-1894, was a charter member of the Kansas Woman's Press Association, founded in 1890.[29]

Emmeline B. Wells, the owner/editor of the *Woman's Exponent* from 1877-1915, was a member of the Pacific Coast Women's Press Association, the Woman's International Press Union, and a delegate to the National Editorial Association in 1892.[30] Alice Stone Blackwell, who grew up in the office of the *Woman's Journal* and was its editor from 1883-1917, was a member and officer of the New England Woman's Press

Association, a member of the National Woman's Press Association, and a delegate to the National Editorial Association in 1890.[31] Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, editor of the *New Era*, was a founding member of the Illinois Woman's Press Association, as was Caroline Huling, editor of the feminist *Justitia*, which she published briefly from 1887-1888.[32] Closer examination of the editors of suffrage journals may reveal that they were not nearly the "amateurs" they have been thought to have been, and were instead actively involved in the national discussion of journalism practice and principles that abounded in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

It would be useful to identify other network ties suffrage editors had with other organizations either on their own account or through family members. Emma Pack's *Farmer's Wife*, for example, was first a publication of the Farmer's Alliance and only after that a suffrage publication. One might well ask how that affiliation affected her views and her work. One could also ask how Emmeline B. Wells' affiliation with the Mormon Church affected her views as a suffragist as well as her role as editor of the *Woman's Exponent.*

Historians have frequently commented on the suffrage organizations' attitudes toward the Republican and Democratic parties, but typically do not talk about the affiliations of individual suffragists. Although women did not belong to political parties (except in those few states in which they could vote), the men in their families did. Membership in political parties during the 19th century involved more than simply casting a ballot on election day; it often affected a man's job, his social position, special privileges, and thus his entire family. Another important question to consider, therefore, is how the political affiliations of the men in their families might have affected the lives and work of woman suffrage editors.

Social Movement Systems

A consideration of other social movements linked to the suffrage movement in what can be called "social movement systems" (SMSs) also would be a useful perspective in studying woman suffrage publications.[33] SMSs are loosely linked social movements that share similar values or viewpoints at specific periods in time, though they also have differences. The positive side of belonging to such a system is that network ties can be useful and availability of resources is increased exponentially. The negative side is that individual movements within the system do not share all values, strategies, or tactics and may even find that association with them can do more harm than good.

During the 1850s, the anti-slavery, woman's rights, and temperance movements made up an SMS that often shared members, resources, and

publications. For example, William Lloyd Garrison was initially an advocate for both anti-slavery and woman's rights and used his publication, the *Liberator*, to advocate both reforms. When the anti-slavery movement defined the mid-1860s as "the Negro's hour," however, Garrison disavowed woman suffrage in favor of the enfranchisement of African Americans.

In another example, the temperance, prohibition, suffrage, and populist movements of the 1890s constituted an SMS and often overlapped in membership, interests, and resources. Thus, the national publication of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the *Union Signal*, advocated temperance and woman's rights and the *Farmer's Wife* of the Farmer's Alliance advocated suffrage in addition to farmers' rights. In the mid-1910s, the SMS containing woman suffrage expanded to include the socialist movement and pacifism.[34] While socialist publications advocated worker's rights, pacifism, and woman suffrage, however, suffrage publications attempted to downplay this connection, for socialism was seen as a threat by the majority of the middle class population suffragists were trying to convert.

Some research has been conducted in this area by Genevieve McBride, who in her study of woman's movements in Wisconsin examined the connection between the temperance and suffrage movements. During its first years, the Wisconsin suffrage movement found an advocate in the pages of Emma Brown's *Wisconsin Chief*, the temperance publication of the Knights of the Good Templar. The suffrage movement also found an advocate in the Waukesha *Freeman*, originally published as an abolitionist paper.[35]

In my own work, I have studied the connections between suffrage and the temperance and prohibition movements and found that as often as not, suffrage leaders frequently found themselves playing a balancing act to take advantage of resources offered by the temperance and prohibition movements while at the same time attempting to isolate themselves from the negative effects this support brought. When the prohibitionist Anti-Saloon League advocated woman suffrage in the pages of its *American Issue*, for example, suffragists attempted to downplay the tenuous connection between suffrage and prohibition to allay opposition from the powerful liquor lobby, the immigrant population, and anti-prohibitionists.[36]

The concept of social movement systems opens up an exciting and seemingly limitless prospect for further enquiry. Here are just a few of the research questions that come to mind: What were the connections between the pacifist movement of the late 1910s and the suffrage move-

ment? Between the socialist movement and suffrage? Between the SMSs of the suffrage era and those of the women's liberation era of the 1950s and 1960s? (The women's movement of the mid-20th century was linked to the civil rights, anti-war, anti-establishment, and environmental movements.)

In relation to suffrage publications, we might ask, for example, how they absorbed the pacifist discourse in ways that were positive for the suffrage movement. On the other hand, we might consider how pacifist discourse conflicted with the increasingly militant strategies of groups within the suffrage movement, such as the National Woman's Party, and with the increasingly militant discourse and images employed in suffrage publications. Likewise, we might compare pacifist versus militant discourse found in suffrage publications of the 1910s with discourse found in feminist publications of the 1960s and 1970s. How did the feminist periodicals of the mid-20th century reconcile a female vision of the world with the militant discourse of the movement's more radical elements?

Counter-movements

The concept of counter-movements also poses interesting research questions in the study of suffrage publications. In my own research, I have looked at opposition to suffrage offered by anti-suffrage organizations as well as by the liquor industry. I found that the publications of the anti-suffrage movement on one hand were typically well-funded and well-established in a network of powerful individuals and organizations. On the other hand, they were hampered by their character as reactive and even static publications that existed for the sole purpose of defeating the pro-active and constantly evolving suffrage movement.[37] I also found that while publications of the liquor industry also were well-funded and well-established, for a variety of reasons (including the ascendancy of Progressive values during the 1910s and the advent of the war against Germany) they became ineffective in their opposition to suffrage.[38]

Several journals were published by anti-suffrage organizations, including the *Remonstrance*, which I examined in my own research, as well as the *Reply*, the *Woman Patriot*, the *Woman's Protest*, and the *Anti-Suffragist*. Although brief histories of the *Reply*, the *Anti-Suffragist*, and the *Woman Patriot* were published in the Endres and Lueck collection, little has been done to pursue in-depth analyses of these papers, their organization, strategies, and rhetoric.[39]

How did these publications match their rhetoric to that of the suffrage publications? How did they reflect the opposing values inherent in their opposition to suffrage? How did they envision women's place in

American society? How did they (or did they?) incorporate or reject the rhetoric and images of the prohibition, pacifist, and socialist movements in their anti-suffrage arguments? How might the relation between these anti-suffrage and suffrage publications be compared and contrasted to that of the anti-feminist and feminist publications of the 1960s and 1970s? What were the SMSs to which anti-suffragists and anti-feminists belonged? How did they interact with the SMSs to which suffragists and feminists belonged?

As for the liquor and brewing industries, which opposed suffrage, they published a dozen national trade journals in the decades before Prohibition, including: *Bonfort's Wine and Spirits Circular*, the official organ of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association; the *USBA Yearbook*, published by the United States Brewers Association; and the *Western Brewer*. These publications regularly discussed suffrage, addressed issues raised in suffrage journals, and quoted suffrage leaders, usually in a negative fashion. This is a field that remains largely unexplored for, apart from my own study of the anti-suffrage propaganda of the liquor industry, I am unaware of any in-depth analyses of these publications.[40]

Content and contextual analyses of the publications, the examination of corporate records (always a daunting challenge in historical research) and government records should provide interesting perspectives on the organization, functions, role, and rhetoric of these publications in relation to the suffrage movement and its publications. It also would be interesting to analyze similar journals and records of the mid-to-late 20th century alcohol industry to divine its relation to modern feminism, images of women in advertising, and such organizations as Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD). Once again comparisons of the interaction with the alcohol industry by the different suffrage journals from the beginning of the century with those of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s would be interesting.

Field Offers Vast Vistas

These are just some of the possibilities for future research that have come to mind as I have pursued my own work on woman suffrage publications, but it should be clear that this field of study opens vast vistas for research in a number of disciplines and with a variety of perspectives.

Journalism history at the end of the 20th century is, happily, an expanding field and the history of women in journalism is expanding right along with it. This evolution has been helped along in the last 25 years by leading journalism historians who have challenged their colleagues to shake up the field and approach it from new perspectives.

In 1974 James Carey urged journalism historians to move beyond the "dull and unimaginative" production of biographies of (male) editors and publishers and the chronology of improvements in press technology to adopt a broader, more inclusive cultural perspective in their work.[41] In 1981, Catherine Covert called for a conceptual change in the way scholars viewed journalism and women's roles in journalism. She encouraged historians to isolate and identify some of the value assumptions of journalism history as it had been traditionally written from the male perspective and to approach their scholarship with new organizing values suggested by the experience of women.[42]

In 1982, MaryAnn Yodelis Smith expanded upon Carey's prescription, urging historians of women in journalism to broaden their work to include a sociocultural perspective.[43] In 1993, Catherine Mitchell called on scholars of women's rights publications to expand their perspective to include the concept of "privilege" and to consider issues of gender and race in their studies of suffrage publications.[44] And most recently, in 1997, Maurine Beasley recommended that historians of women journalists move away from the two dominant perspectives that have often limited studies of women's historical experience in journalism: one which is based on women's attempts to engage more fully in the male-dominated field of journalism, the other which is concerned with women's efforts to develop separate institutions. She urged historians to make use of a pluralistic perspective linking the study of women journalists to new specializations of women's history, such as ethnic and rhetorical studies.[45]

Historians of woman suffrage publications have followed the recommendations made by Carey and Yodelis Smith admirably and a few have begun to follow up on Mitchell's suggestion to analyze suffrage publications in terms of race and gender.[46] As for Beasley's suggestions, as she notes, some historians already have abandoned the concepts of "equality" and "separatism" in their work on, for example, women's editions, the municipal housekeeping movement, and women's press clubs.[47]

To the words of these historians I can only add my own encouragement to scholars to continue investigating the field of woman suffrage publications and to bring all the investigative tools at their disposal to the endeavor. Far from being an esoteric topic of "mere" historical interest, the study of woman suffrage publications has connections to the study of feminist publications of the mid-20th century as well as of the present and future.

In the current conservative, nativist, and anti-feminist climate of this country, I would say study of this topic is a vital one to anyone interested in the concepts of a pluralistic, democratic nation.

Endnotes

1. See: Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869-1914," *American Journalism* 3 (1986): 125-139; "The New Northwest and Woman's Exponent: Early Voices for Suffrage," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977):286-92; "The Pioneer: The First Voice of Women's Suffrage in the West," *Pacific Historian* 25 (1981); 15-21; "*The Woman's Exponent*: Forty-two Years of Speaking for Woman Suffrage," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 222-30.

2. Lynne Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of the *Revolution*, 1868-1870," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (1976): 242-51; Lynne Masel Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the *Woman's Journal*," *Journalism History* 3 (1977):103-110.

3. Marilyn Dell Brady, "Populism and Feminism in a Newspaper by and for Women of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance, 1891-1894," *Kansas History* 7 (Winter 1984-85), 280-290.

4. Linda Lumsden, "*The Suffragist*: The National Woman's Party Wields the Power of the Press," unpublished paper presented to the 1994 convention of the AJHA, Roanoke, Va.; "*Suffragist*," in *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Social and Political Issues*," ed. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood, 1996).

5. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, ed. *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Social and Political Issues* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1996). This collection includes chapters on the following suffrage papers: *Farmer's Wife, National Citizen and Ballot Box, The New Northwest, Pioneer, Queen Bee, Revolution, Suffragist, The True Republic, Wisconsin Citizen, Western Woman Voter, The Woman Citizen, The Woman Voter, The Women's Column, Woman's Exponent, The Woman's Journal* and *The Women's Tribune*.

6. Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in 19th Century Suffrage Periodicals," *American Journalism* 1 (Summer 1983): 1-15.

7. Linda Steiner, "19th century Suffrage Periodicals: Conceptions of Womanhood and the Press," in *Ruthless Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*, ed. William S. Solomon and Robert W. McChesney (1993), 70-72.

8. According to Masel-Walters, the average lifespan of the feminist publications was 7.52 years, excluding the exceptional *Woman's Journal/Woman Citizen*, which ran for 62 years, and its companion *Woman's Column*, which ran for 16 years. Lynne Masel-Walters, "To Hustle With the Rowdies: The Organization and Functions of the American Woman Suffrage Press," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Spring 1980): 167-83.

9. James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1:1 (Spring 1974): 3-5, 27; MaryAnn Yodelis Smith, "Research Retrospective: Feminist and the Media." *Communication Research* 9 (1982): 152; Catherine Mitchell, "Historiography: A New Direction for Research on the Woman's Rights Press," *Journalism History* 19:2 (Summer 1993): 59-63. Carey calls for a cultural perspective in the study of journalism history; Yodelis Smith calls for a sociocultural perspective of women's history; Mitchell urges scholars to adopt a multicultural perspective in their study of the women's rights press.

10. Martha Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991). The book contains chapters on: *The Lily, The Una, The Revolution, The Woman's Journal, The Woman's Tribune, The Woman's Column, The Farmer's Wife*, and *The Woman's Exponent*.

11. Martha M. Solomon, "The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman's Rights Movement," in *A Voice of Their Own*, Solomon, ed.,2.

12. Mari Boor Tonn, "*The Una*, 1853-1856: The Premiere of the Woman's Rights Press," in *A Voice of Their Own*, Solomon, ed., 48-70.

13. Edward A. Hinck, "*The Lily*, 1840-1856: From Temperance to Woman's Rights," in *A Voice of Their Own*, Solomon, ed.,30-47.

14. Solomon, "The Role of the Suffrage Press in the Woman's Rights Movement," 15.

15. E. Claire Jenny, "Clara Bewick Colby and the *Woman's Tribune*, 1883-1909: the Free Lance Editor as Movement Leader," in *A Voice of Their Own*, Solomon, ed., 110-28.

16. Marsha L. Vanderford, "The Woman's Column, 1888-1904: Extending the Suffrage Community," in A Voice of Their Own, Solomon, ed., 129-152.

17. Linda Steiner, "Evolving Rhetorical Strategies/Evolving Identities," in *A Voice of Their Own*, Solomon, ed., 183-197.

18. Steiner, "Evolving Rhetorical Strategies...", 197.

19. For general discussion of women's social movements from a social movement perspective, see: Steven Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Guida West and Rhoda Lois Blumberg, eds., *Women and Social Protest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

20. The "aging" and bureaucratizaton of social movements is discussed in: John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization* (Morristown, N.J.: General Learning, 1973); Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Suzanne Staggenborg, "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement," *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988): 585-606; and Verta Taylor, "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance," *American Sociological Review* 54 (1989): 761-75.

21. Elizabeth V. Burt, "Dissent and Control in a Woman Suffrage Periodical: Thirty Years of the *Wisconsin Citizen*," *American Journalism*, 16:2 (Spring 1999: 39-62).

22. For discussion of counter-movements, see: Tahi L. Motl, "The Analysis of Counter-movements," *Social Problems* 27:5 (June 1980): 620-635; Mayer N. Zald and Bert Useem, "Movement and Counter-movement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics, and State Involvement," in *Social Movements in an Organizational Society* (NY: Transactional Books, 1987), 247-272; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 171-202.

23. Elizabeth V. Burt, " The Ideology, Rhetoric, and Organizational Structure of a Counter-movement Publication: *The Remonstrance*," *Journalism Quarterly* 75:1 (Spring 1998): 69-83.

24. For discussion of resource mobilization theory, see, for example: J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983): 527-53; Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Free Press, 1984; A. Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1973); L. Marvin Overby and Sarah J. Ritchie, "Mobilized Masses and Strategic Opponents: A Resource Mobilization Analysis of the Clean Air and Nuclear Freeze Movements," *The Western Political Quarterly* 44 (June 1991): 329-51; Ralph Turner, "Collective Behavior and Resource Mobilization as Approaches to Social Movements," *Research in Social Movements: Conflict and Change* 4 (1981): 1-24.

25. For social movement literature discussing networks and network ties, see: Adrian F. Aveni, "Organizational Linkages and Resource Mobilization: The Significance of Linkage Strength and Breadth," *The Sociological Quarterly* 19 (Spring 1978): 185-202; Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1978): 1360-80; Bert Klandermans and Dirk Oegema, "Potentials, Networks, Motivations and Barriers: Steps Toward Participation in Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 52 (1987): 519-32; J. Miller McPherson, Pamela A. Popielarz, and Sonia Drobnik, "Social Networks and Organizational Dynamics," *American Sociological Review* 57 (April 1992): 153-70; and Naomi Rosenthal et al, "Social Movements and Network Analysis: A Case Study of 19th Century Women's Reforms in New York State," *American Journal of Sociology* 90 (1985): 1022-54.

26. Bennion, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West," 135; Masel-Walters, "To Hustle with the Rowdies," 278; Steiner, "19th Century Suffrage Periodicals," 70. This point could be countered, however, by pointing to the many known journalists and writers who contributed to the journals. Cloud, in fact, describes the suffrage publications as an outlet for feminist writers, including the "galaxy of distinguished writers" who published in the Woman's Journal. Cloud, "A Burning Cloud by Day," 108.

27. See Elizabeth V. Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy: The Woman's Press Club Movement, 1881-1900," *Journalism History* 23:2 (Summer 1997), 72-84; also Elizabeth V. Burt, ed. *Historical Dictionary of Women's Press Organizations* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, forthcoming).

28. "Among the Newspaperwomen," *The Journalist*, 14 Nov. 1891; *Fourth Estate*, 31 January 1903, p. 5, col. 1-2.

29. "All Around Kansas," *The Journalist*, 11 Oct. 90, p. 6, col. 2.

30. "The Pacific Coast Women's Press Association," *The Journalist*, 12 March 1892, p. 6, col. 3; "Among the Newspaperwoman," *The Journalist*, 21 May 1892, p. 12, col. 3; "Notes Among the Clubs

and Association," *Fourth Estate*, 16 March 1901, p. 15, col. 1.

31. "Boston," *The Journalist*, 1 July 1888, p. 4, col. 2; *The Journalist*, 23 Aug. 1890, p. 5, col. 3; "National Editorial Convention," *The Journalist*, 5 July 1890, p. 19, col. 3.

32. "Chicago," *The Journalist*, 28 June 1890, p. 4, col. 1.

33. Some of the social movements linked through social movement systems are discussed in: McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnik, "Social Networks and Organizational Dynamics;" Rosenthal, et al, "Social Movements and Network Analysis;" Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 10-40; Mayer Zald, "Issues in the Theory of Social Movements," *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 1 (1980): 61-72.

34. For discussion of the various movements interacting with the suffrage movement, see: Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980); Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*; Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press; 1975; and Ross Evans Paulson, *Women's Suffrage and Prohibition* (Glenville, Ill.: Scott Foresman and Co., 1973).

35. Genevieve G. McBride, *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights From Settlement to Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 22-27, 68-133, 142.

36. Elizabeth V. Burt, "Anti-Suffrage Press and Propaganda of the Liquor and Brewing Industries: Wisconsin, 1910-1920," unpublished paper presented to the 1995 convention of the AEJMC, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth V. Burt, "Reform Allies: The Temperance and Prohibition Press and the Woman Suffrage Movement: Wisconsin, 1910-1919," unpublished paper presented to the 1994 convention of the AEJMC, Atlanta, Ga.

37. Burt, "Ideology and Rhetoric of a Counter-movement Publication."

38. Burt, "Anti-Suffrage Press and Propaganda of the Liquor and Brewing Industries."

39. Burt, "Ideology and Rhetoric of a Counter-movement Publication," and Therese L. Lueck, "The *Reply*," Therese L. Lueck, "*The Anti-Suffragist*;" David R. Spencer, "*The Woman Patriot*," all in *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Social and Political Issues*, Endres and Lueck, eds.

40. Burt, "Anti-Suffrage Press and Propaganda of the Liquor and Brewing Industries."

41. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," 3-5, 27.

42. Catherine l. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," *Journalism History* 8:1 (Spring 1981) 2-6.

43. Smith, "Research Retrospective: Feminist and the Media," 152.

44. Mitchell, "Historiography: A New Direction for Research on the Woman's Rights Press."

45. Maurine H. Beasley, "New Directions for Historical Study of Women Journalists," unpublished paper presented at the 1997 convention of the AEJMC, Chicago, Ill.

46. See, for example, Janet M. Cramer's study of three feminist (not suffrage) publications — *The Courant, The Socialist Woman*, and *Woman's Era*. Janet M. Cramer, "Woman as Citizen: Race, Class and the Discourse of Women's Citizenship, 1894-1909," *Journalism Monographs* 165 (March 1998).

47. Scholarship cited by Beasley as examples of new perspectives includes: Steiner, "19th Century Suffrage Periodicals;" Ann Colbert, "Philanthropy in the Newsroom: Women's Editions of Newspapers, 1894-1896," *Journalism History* 22 (Autumn 1996): 91-99; Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, "Women Journalists and the Municipal Housekeeping Movement: Case Studies of Jane Cunningham Croly, Helen M. Winslow, and Rheta Childe Dorr," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1992); and Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy."

1999 Presidential Address

AJHA—A Modest Agenda for the Millennium

By Eugenia M. Palmegiano

Editor's Note: This President's Address was delivered on October 7, 1999 at the annual convention of the American Journalism Historians Association in Portland, Oregon.

"Once upon a time" is still a splendid opening for any history. "Let me entertain you" is another. "Here are the facts" is a third, and "Why did this occur?" is perhaps best of all. Each of these beginnings epitomizes components of what Marc Bloch labeled the historian's craft.[1] To be accurate, to be analytic, to be graceful, if possible, but at least coherent in reporting, above all to be past-minded, these are the hallmarks of the profession. One could as easily ascribe them to journalism in its broadest application.

What has always struck me about the study of media history is that its content is so compatible with historical methodology. By this I mean that the media not only leave us a first draft of history but also school us in its art. Not all historians, I suspect, find such harmony in their specialties.

Today I plan to address these characteristics inherent in the crafting of history because, I submit, they relate to central concerns of media historians in higher education, irrespective of the size and shape of the institutions with which they are affiliated or the aspect of the field which engages them. My aim is to highlight circumstances that currently appear to inhibit the propagation of media history and to make some modest proposals on how AJHA can intervene in order to secure the survival of our discipline.

What Use is AJHA?

In this way, I offer another and, I trust, complementary answer to the question asked by Thomas Heuterman in his 1996 presidential

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address, a question that has nagged me ever since he posed it. Heuterman's query, some may remember, was of what use is the American Journalism Historians Association.[2] He himself gave an important response by calling for intellectual activism, for utilizing AJHA to generate ideas as well as to publicize research.[3] I heartily concur with Heuterman. No one could be more devoted than I am to the belief that media history is at base intellectual history, the record of what people thought about the monumental or the mundane and how they determined which was which. Likewise, I hold, as he does, that it is "our responsibility, not an option" to evaluate how previous mass media have performed[4] and, I would append, to train the next generation in media history, to share with them the skills of the historian.

The first obstacle to this goal seems to be the oft-bemoaned presentism of students, a perspective that is surely antithetical to doing history. A recent article in *The Wall Street Journal* typifies this pessimism. The writer, cinema critic James Bowman, focused on financially successful movies. His thesis, which has been expressed by opponents of other visual media, was that loosely researched scripts tend to do more than convey false versions of earlier eras. Such films, Bowman argued, validate a homogenization of concepts over generations, persuading viewers that "the whole of human history is the story of people just like us." The result, he reckoned, is to reinforce the contemporary values of audiences instead of aiding them to make, in phrases pirated from R.G. Collingwood, the "imaginative leap" of historians "entering into the thought and feeling of past times."[5]

While one cannot quarrel with Bowman's conviction that historians have a mandate to "transcend" their own age, to refrain from imposing its ideas on another, one can dispute his categorization of commercial visual mass communication as unhistorical rather than as a-historical. Surely Hollywood and its progeny have introduced students to worlds that their ancestors might never have seen, in the literal sense of that word. Even if such exposure has intrigued only a few to pursue the probe of persons or issues now gone, such a spark should not be overlooked. Moreover, if students are so firmly anchored in today, why should they be otherwise, particularly if they are concentrating in mass communications, whose essence is the momentary? And if this condition is undesirable, is it not our role as educators to help them to expand their horizons by reminding them, as Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in his essay, "History," that humans are "a bundle of relations, a knot of roots . . . intertwined with the whole chain of organic and inorganic being"?[6]

Overcoming Presentism

Capitalizing on an interest in history however generated in order to overcome presentism is not to be underrated, if a strategy to prompt a past-directed mind set follows. One tactic is to beat the opposition at its own game, for example, by advising filmmakers on productions. As this convention will demonstrate, a carefully documented video can revisit a former age in a mode that is at once authentic and artistic. Consequently, my first proposal is to encourage AJHA to publicize its members' skills. Employing its index of their expertise, AJHA can be pro-active, introducing those outside media history to sage consultants and thereby limiting the damage done by Bowman's targets.

Another tactic to dilute presentism surfaced in 1997 in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* under the headline "Good Journalists Have a Good Grasp of the Liberal Arts."[7] In this piece, Bill Kirtz, former newspaper editor and publisher, next faculty member, doubted that reporters could function effectively without a historical framework. Kirtz's judgment was hardly new. An illustration from a magazine printed 130 years before will suffice. Spotlighting in 1867 what he called the "trade of journalism," Edward Dicey described the skilled reporter as a person with "a knowledge of the world, as well as acquaintance with books, and considerable power of diction."[8] Over a century and an ocean apart, Kirtz and Dicey testify to the worth of history in the education of those studying mass media.

Perhaps to us as working historians, this solution to stimulate a past outlook is self-evident. Its merits may not, though, be dogma to all our colleagues. Here again, AJHA can be useful. By gathering and disseminating information on a cross-section of media history education, the association can equip members to prepare a better, dare I say data-driven, case for inclusion of history in the curriculum. Thereafter, the job is ours to persuade students that any intellectual investment exclusively in today is unlikely to reap many rewards tomorrow.

History Is Accessible

A second barrier to passing the torch has been built by historians themselves. By ignoring what I conceive is another attribute of their craft, namely entertainment, they have driven people away from the pursuit of history. Because media history regularly deals with news does not exempt it from meeting this criterion. Max Frankel, in a 1998 *New York Times Magazine* column, recognized this requisite.[9] Reacting to a decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, he jeered at the

notion that "news must be, by definition, banal and boring." Citing as proof of the opposite a mixed company ranging from Homer and Plutarch to H.L. Mencken, Frankel went on to say "[t]he journalist's purpose, no less the bard's, is to bring drama and delight into our lives." This sentiment too is hardly novel. Sarah Ellis declared in a weekly newspaper in 1845 that the press should fill the imagination with "rich treasures," not transform it into "a manufactory of miseries."[10]

Frankel and Ellis could have been referring to history. Should not history, especially media history, bring drama and delight? Should not history, all history, be foremost fathomable? Ponder as proof that it is not this call of a conference scheduled for 2000 that intends to deal with "how ideologies and material practices construct, maintain, and challenge centers and peripheral spaces in geographic, political, and psychological terms."[11]

Couched in jargon, scholar speaking only to scholar, history will win few converts among students and even fewer among administrators accountable to tax and tuition payers. Worse, historians who sculpt arcane history betray their self-imposed obligation to be the keepers of the human chronicle. This betrayal is more treacherous for those of us in media history since we are the guardians of cultural barometers. For dominant people or groups, there is ordinarily other documentation; for the socially marginalized, where media may be the only annals of their existence, obfuscation is high treason.

Schemes for reversing a propensity to obscure are diverse, notwithstanding that it is easy enough to identify the problem. Francis Bacon neatly summarized it four centuries ago when he commented that "[I]t is an ability not common to write good history . . . In no sort of writing is there a greater distance between the good and the bad."[12] This ability, as that of having a sense of the past, is rarely innate. As Sean Wilentz, of Princeton's American Studies Program, stated in his *New York Times* tribute to Alfred Kazin, only "the remarkable" naturally pen history as "magnificent and confident writers."[13] For those of us not among the immortals, and for the majority of those whom we anticipate as our heirs, writing must be learned and constantly practiced.

Certainly if a 1999 report of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication on *Journalism Educators: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* is correct, writing is central in the lives of such faculty and hopefully that orientation influences their teaching.[14] We who are media historians have an advantage insofar as we routinely peruse succinct and lucid prose. As E.S. Dallas noted in an 1859 magazine, "the simplicity and the clearness which are the essentials of periodical writing

frequently imply a much more perfect grasp of the subject . . . than . . . more ambitious performances."[15] Clarity and simplicity are the keystones of good journalism. As historians we should reflect these traits for veracity and adopt them for comprehensibility.

Good History Writing Is Difficult

In this regard, AJHA has a long tradition of being effective, a tradition that should be not merely maintained but extended. The association has agents and agencies to ensure that history is enjoyable. The membership, at large and in interest groups, is a cadre of colleagues ready to critique each other's work in a spirit combining respect and scholarship, and AJHA publications disseminate successful techniques for teaching. Equally significant, the association has always welcomed graduate students, spurring them to enter the lists with faculty and honoring them for their achievements. AJHA should continue this custom but can also open venues to stimulate good writing by creating more regional conferences.

All this having been said, yet composing history is difficult. As Peter Gay wrote in his *Style in History*, "[a]s a writer, [the historian] is under pressure to become a stylist while remaining a scientist; he must give pleasure without compromising truth."[16] Deriving pleasure from the bowels of science sounds a very large burden. In fact, Gay isolated the most crucial problem in every genre of history, the tension between historian as investigator and as interpreter. In media history, the strain is intense.

The very nature of the sources can be the worst enemy of those who seek to understand them. We are all familiar with the hazards. Newspapers and magazines have title shifts, anonymous scribes, changing editors and publishers, and missing issues, such that the periodicity of periodicals often makes them a nightmare to track, much less to explicate. Broadcasts and films similarly have incomplete tapes and partial transcripts, not to mention the wishes and perhaps whimsy of producers and directors.

Coaching students to become patient detectives when dealing with this morass has always been a challenge, complicated now by an environment where speed in communication is a priority. Hearing a professor's tales of shifting through collections, of sitting what seemed endless minutes waiting for materials in the New York Public Library or what were endless hours in the British Museum Reading Room may charm, but they do not substitute for inspiring the requisite determination and inventiveness necessary to do media research.

Now, fortunately, technology can play a role. Instead of decrying the destructive effects of electronics on education, I celebrate its capacity to connect students to primary sources in a medium with which these neophyte historians are comfortable. After all, their traveling into the past is much more likely to ensue if they can do it on an Internet highway.

Here, I suggest, AJHA needs to innovate, not because it has been remiss but because the rapidity of this development has been so great. Consider that *The Times* of London launched its steam-powered printing press in November 1814, and that 32 years later, the paper published only 23,000 copies on an average day.[17] Place that statistic against the career of the Web, and no one can fault the failure to foresee that mass communications, as we have experienced them in this century, would fast become archaic.

AJHA can and should take the lead in setting standards for electronic scholarship in media history because our members are well-qualified and have a duty to history and to our successors to do so. Standards, in my judgment, must cover two areas. First, the disintegration or obsolescence of electronic archives demand our attention as much as does the disappearance of printed and celluloid holdings. Second, with the aid of electronic access, students will encounter more primary sources, ones in media history with which they opine that they are acquainted and thus presume their own sophistication. In the aftermath, the rigor with which historians have approached the sources may erode unless we act on guidelines. To borrow from David Spencer's 1997 presidential speech, cyberspace is "a new tool for the spreading of knowledge. The challenge is to learn to use it with a degree of exactitude and intelligence."[18]

Who Were the Fools?

A necessity for accuracy equal in magnitude to amassing extensive evidence is handling it scrupulously. This rule so absolute to us is often initially alien to prospective historians. To nurture its application, one might commence by again stealing the thunder of the other side. For instance, media can be violently partisan. Although overt bias may be poison to professors bred on objectivity and eager to convey it, blatancy may actually be an asset by reducing students' misunderstanding of the sources, notably on first contact with them. Opening with the obvious may also enable students to discern manipulations less deliberate and nuances more tantalizing. If deception of the public is sinister, as J.A. Scott warned in 1863 when taking the measure of the American penny

press,[19] such deceit is scintillating for the historian who must discover who was fooled and how that mattered.

Even when an older medium wears a cloak or contains a core of neutrality, the historian has the dilemma of context. How to read the gazette, hear the broadcast, or watch the film in the same mood as contemporaries did, how to capture immediacy and specificity of crises or cares long over, and, concurrently, how to set the reading, hearing, or watching dispassionately in a larger milieu of which those at the time were usually themselves unaware are both crucial for conceptual synthesis. To catalyze discussion on abetting these techniques essential for accuracy among students, AJHA provides several fora. There have been sessions on pedagogy at the annual and regional meetings and columns in the *Intelligencer*. Other outlets which I envision are occasional pamphlets and detailed postings on the Web.

Still, gathering the facts, whether exciting or dismal, and even entering them in sound language within their epoch's frame is futile unless one can analyze them. If few would claim, as did G.R. Elton in *The Practice of History*, that one of the two "intellectual pillars" of modern society is "analytic history," surely most historians would agree with James Startt's assessment in the *Intelligencer* that "history is part of the coordinating core of the modern mind."[20]

To reconstruct the past so as to link it intellectually beyond its own time and space is, we all understand, the stuff of history. And herein I would contend lies the danger intimated by Peter Gay. How do we square notions of authenticity and of interpretation to novices? For historians are not antiquarians. We do not merely assemble artifacts; we cast them in the bronze of interpretation, or rather bronzes, for controversy among us is common.

Working the "Little Gray Cells"

Do not these divisions at worst distort truth or at least confuse it in the minds of students? Should we expect them to understand the Revolutionary War, much less its newspapers, or the Vietnam War, much less its television tapes, when the number of conflicting histories of either conflict, or indeed only of their causes, could alone validate that distortion does occur?

Should we reply with a shrug that we are only mortal and therefore mistake-prone? Should we retort with a sigh that, as with Albert Einstein, or more likely Hercule Poirot, at some point our "little gray cells" work their magic? Should we compound confusion by citing Max Weber's convoluted distinction between idea and ideal?[21] There are many rationales

for the maze of interpretations, but none that I have chanced upon fully satisfy me.

The one that I prefer is a variation of another well-known text: in the beginning is the idea. That is to say, the historian starts with a hypothesis much like the scientist, lets the evidence lead where it may, and finds frequently that the hypothesis is altogether wrong. Nonetheless, in contrast to the scientist, the historian must fit the pieces together, not as mechanical nature directs, but as human logs reflect.

No one ever said about gravity what Crane Brinton said about revolution, that it is "one of the looser words."[22] To take joy in preciseness of language is fundamental to interpretation. To glory in contradictions is equally so. As John Stuart Mill alerted in "On Liberty," "the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race."[23] To accept that historians bring their own baggage to every endeavor is also essential to weaving and unraveling and reweaving interpretation in order to ascertain what happened in the human past and why.

AJHA's Important Role

To fine tune the capacity to explain why, to enhance in the next generation of historians the ability to think critically, we each have our methods, albeit all probably spring from our individual and collective perennial exercises in evaluation. Nevertheless, I postulate that AJHA can contribute to that outcome. By encountering new research at each convention and in our publications, we have the tools to stun students, to watch them discover that history does not have upper case truth.

Because review of the literature, after the sources themselves, is central to increasing analytic skill, I would like to advance another initiative that AJHA might undertake, that is, to circulate emerging and differing assessments or reassessments of media history, to air as it develops, ongoing historiography. I am convinced that the Web can expedite the process, reaching students where they are at ease but liberating them from the habit of haphazard reasoning and the susceptibility to bogus history. Such a project would enlarge the dimension of AJHA and reinforce it, in Tom Heuterman's phrase, as "a forum crackling with ideas."[24]

Much of what I have said today is a reaffirmation that AJHA is a dynamic organization well-positioned to augment its services to its associates in the next century. One, of course, must not be too confident. To paraphrase that popular pundit, Yogi Berra, the future is not what it used to be. Alternatively, the proposals that I have made are but extensions of others' motifs, echoes of earlier presidential messages.

In 1984, J William Snorgrass, observing that AJHA had grown dramatically in its maiden years, concluded that "the acorn is just beginning to sprout."[25] Therefore, he added, much work lay ahead. Thanks to him and my other predecessors and their constituents, the association is now an oak in the academic forest. To keep it hardy requires the commitment of its members to sustain its many benefits, to proffer new ones, and, above all, to guard the integrity of the record, which is ultimately the centerpiece of the historian's craft.

Endnotes

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Great Ideas

"Innovative Teaching in Media History" Session at 1999 AJHA Convention Was Full of "Great Ideas"

By Tamara K. Baldwin

I'll never forget the feeling I had two years ago when I spent the fall semester on sabbatical in London, England. To celebrate our eighth wedding anniversary, my husband bought us tickets to see the musical *Guys and Dolls* at the National Theatre. When the character Nicely Nicely belted out the song "Sit Down, You're Rocking the Boat," and immediately proceeded into a seemingly impromptu encore, the energy in the theatre at that instant was palpable and the atmosphere electric.

The audience was being treated to a moment of brilliance, when the actors' skill, talent and enthusiasm transported all of us to another place for a brief time. I remember how the hairs on my neck began to tingle and I got that full-up feeling just watching. I wanted to stand up and start to sing and dance myself, but I made myself sit still (after all, this was London).

I had these exact same feelings in October at the 1999 AJHA Convention in Portland, Oregon, when I attended the "Innovative Teaching in Media History" session early on Saturday morning. As I sat in the audience and listened to Sam Riley, Elizabeth Burt, Mary Weston and David Copeland describe how they teach journalism history courses on their campuses, I was once again transported. This wasn't London theatre, but it was, to put it plainly, skill, talent, and enthusiasm every bit as impressive.

Convention attendees who slept in or who had obligations that required them to be somewhere else missed hearing descriptions of some innovative and insightful ways to teach students about journalism history from some master educators. Sam Riley from Virginia Tech described a

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course he designed called "The American Newspaper Columnist" which combined a historical look at American newspaper columnists with a writing course which encouraged students to look at the writing techniques of the columnists covered. To teach this unique combination of topics, he used what he called "technology in reverse," to bring students in contact with live American newspaper columnists. He did this by using the CU-See Me computer program, which enabled students to visit via computer with a columnist, after first having read a packet of the columnist's work.

Mary Weston described her "History and Issues of Journalism" course she teaches at the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. The course, which is a required undergraduate course, uses the issues-oriented approach to discuss several themes such as journalism ethics, the impact of technology, issues of ownership and competition, and several others listed on the syllabus she provided the audience. Weston told the audience she starts the course by looking at the Internet and scrutinizing news websites and then proceeds to older technologies that have affected journalism. She uses the Internet, today's "hot" technology and the one students are most familiar with, to get this discussion started. No doubt this hooks the students and enables them to relate to and better understand the impact of past technologies on journalism.

Elizabeth Burt from the University of Hartford described "Notable American Journalists," just one of several journalism history courses she has designed and taught. The course examines the lives and works of 12 American journalists, ranging from Benjamin Franklin to Gloria Steinem and Dan Rather. Woven throughout the discussion of each of the 12 were questions regarding the social, political, and economic factors that influenced each to become a journalist, as well as questions relating to gender and social constraints they may have felt, and how their careers reflect changes in the journalism profession over the years.

Finally, David Copeland of the University of Virginia described his course called "Media and Minorities," which he said introduces his predominantly white students to what the media have said about minority groups. Two of the goals for the class, according to his syllabus, are to demonstrate how the media may create stereotypes and influence opinions concerning minorities, and to provide a sense of history concerning media and its coverage of minorities. Copeland uses *Outsiders and 19th Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives* by Frankie Hutton and Barbara Strauss Reed as one of the texts and supplements this text with a reader. In addition, the syllabus listed several primary and secondary sources useful to anyone teaching a unit or class on minorities and the media. I was most struck by his description of an exercise he uses with his

students. Somehow he manages to re-create a colonial print shop that allows students to experience what it must have been like to be a colonial printer or a printer's apprentice. What an impact this activity must have on those students, and what an innovative way to bring history alive for them.

When the formal presentations were over, several in the audience volunteered other innovative ways they've used to teach journalism history and make it live for their students, and I picked up a number of great ideas and tips on videotapes and other materials and approaches I'd never thought about using.

Just like my evening spent enjoying the London theatre, I didn't want this convention session to end. I wanted to keep hearing all the wonderful ways my colleagues around the country are finding to bring journalism and media history to life for students today. Lucky for me, the Education Committee is working on proposing a similar panel for the 2000 AJHA Convention. I like to think of it as "Innovative Teaching in Media History—The Sequel." Whatever name it goes by, I know I will be there taking notes like crazy.

Book Reviews

The mood this month is purely historical. Even our one book on mass media and popular culture pays homage and respect to the movements of the past which have influenced the rise of contemporary popular culture. As well, we have included a review of a video documenting the life and times of journalist George Seldes. There is also a British segment with one review dealing with health and health reporting in times past in Britain as well as an historical examination of the influence of The Herald *under its many owners including the Trades Union Council of Great Britain.*
American topics include a look at Michael Schudson's discussion of citizenship as well as a comprehensive study of the younger William White by Jay Jernigan and a good look at some early radio pioneers in Texas. This month's editor's choice is a look at a century of the history and the culture of journalism from 1850 to 1950 by Fred Fedler. In all, there is some very good reading here for the journalism historian.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓Editor's Choice

Lessons From the Past: Journalists' Lives and Work 1850-1950

by Fred Fedler, Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 2000. 250 pp.

The first impression that one gets in reading Fred Fedler's century of journalism traditions is that newsworkers didn't have much of a life and all they did was work. In fact, the book graphically points to the difficulties that people who entered this profession encountered, namely long hours, dangerous assignments doled out by editors who in this day and age would have been committed for long terms of rest and rehabilitation and an unpredictable tenure of employment interspersed by long periods of time "on the bricks." Yet as Fedler notes, journalism had a magnetic attraction for those seeking fame, sometimes fortune, and certainly adventure.

The book is neatly laid out in 11 chapters which creatively deal with the mystique of the work and why it attracted, and for that matter continues to attract, the free spirit. It is no accident that the chapter on "Getting Hired" is followed by a chapter entitled "Getting Paid" which sequences into a chapter called "Getting Fired." At least in the 19th

century, the reporter and editor were as transient as farm workers, often drifting from town to town. All respectable reporters could boast addresses somewhere in New York City, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Kansas City, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Family life was a forgotten aspect of many of the lives noted here, and those who attempted to approach this "dangerous" lifestyle often spent more time in saloons and divorce courts than they did in the newsroom.

As Fedler notes, more often than not, the young journalist entering the field worked on speculation for a while in what amounted to sweat shops. It was a hindrance to have a formal education and God forbid that anyone bring a university degree or some formal media training to the newsroom. These people were looked upon with suspicion on the off chance that they were hired and managed to stick around for more than a year.

Fedler clearly details some of the anguish with which these reporters worked, often going without sleep for days on end, and often pressured to add in a few details not overly apparent when the investigation of an event began in order to get one up on the rival down the street. The newsroom was more than often in the late Gilded Age a place for the creative and unscrupulous rather than the man interested in facts. And in fact, it was a place for the man, not the young woman although a number of women, such as Elizabeth Cochrane (a.k.a. Nellie Bly) managed to get the attention of people such as Joseph Pulitzer and develop notable careers.

Fedler's book takes on many of the mythologies surrounding the field. One does not get the overall impression that First Amendment rights meant a lot to these journalists except when they were sued by persons damned on the printed page. As he notes, journalism in the late Victorian age was becoming a business dominated by the rich and powerful such as William Randolph Hearst, the aforementioned Pulitzer and, of course, the founder of the chain newspaper, E. W. Scripps. Seeking advertisements was the chief occupation of many publishers to the point that the folks who sold the ads dictated the progress of the daily press. In fact, it is interesting to note with Fedler's analysis, how little has changed. Journalism remains a precarious way of making a living and most certainly the Gannetts, Disneys, Turners and their folk have perfected the art of pleasing stockbrokers in a way their predecessors could only envy.

The many strengths of this book can be seen throughout its 250 pages. It is an ultimately readable book. No airy theories or pontificating dot its pages. Fedler tells his stories and relates his anecdotes in clear, uncomplicated prose. This is a book that journalism instructors can assign and receive little or few objections. In fact, it is a hard book to put down.

But, if one must leave some of its pages for another night of reading, Fedler has carefully divided each chapter into sub-themes and each chapter contains a one page summary of the main points.

This is not a book for those seeking to ferret out the more intellectual aspects of the field. Debate does occur. Chapter Eight deals with the thorny aspects of ethics in the field. Fedler deals with touchy subjects such as invasion of privacy, the use of gifts and bribes and deceptions, not to mention the partisan political influence some editors and owners exacted and continue to exact beyond the editorial pages. As well in Chapter Ten, he deals with the role that editors play as buffers between publishers and reporters, a role he notes that put many an editor into an early grave.

By all means, this is a student's book. It belongs in the classroom if for no other reason than it deals with some of the more touchy issues that have plagued the field. Students will enjoy the breezy writing, but the book may have the consequence that a few more may drop out of journalism school to seek sanctity in law, medicine or the peace and quiet of the stock market and financial worlds.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

The Bloody Circus: The Daily Herald *and the Left*

By Huw Richards, London: Pluto Press, 1997. 246 pp.

This oddly titled (the title drawn from a Labour activist's reference to riding two horses simultaneously) history of the *Daily Herald* offers a richly documented account of the conflicting pressures that shaped the British labour daily throughout its 52 years. Founded as an independent voice for militant labor, the *Herald* came under Trades Union Congress control in 1922. The TUC continued to shape its political policy even after the Oldhams Corporation took charge of the newspaper in 1931. In 1964, the Mirror Group (which had purchased Oldhams) severed the *Herald*'s ties to the labor movement and relaunched the paper as the *Sun*. For three years, the *Herald* could boast that it was the world's best-selling daily newspaper. But in the long run, the paper was unable to successfully balance the competing pressures between satisfying the Labour functionaries who controlled its purse strings and editorial policy and producing a popular newspaper, or to navigate the treacherous economics of advertising-supported publishing.

The capitalist marketplace of ideas has never been a hospitable place for labor newspapers. The *Herald* lost money even during the years when it was England's best-selling daily, unable to secure the advertising necessary to close the gap between production costs and the selling price

dictated by competitors awash in advertising revenue. Aggravating the situation was the fact that its circulation in the Oldhams years was largely built by expensive promotions and insurance schemes rather than on the paper's own merits. Even in its final years, the *Herald* retained over a million circulation, but its readers' political loyalties and demographics had little to offer the advertisers who long before had become newspapers' most important constituency.

And yet, the *Herald* survived for 52 years despite steady losses. Always underfinanced and understaffed, the paper struggled along, determined to provide a voice for the labor movement. In its early years, it was a passionate, vibrant voice for the disenfranchised, with far more political and industrial coverage than could be found in its much larger rivals. But after the paper came under TUC control, much of this coverage was lifeless—dependent on official statements rather than on the lives and struggles of the rank and file. Until the end, though, the *Herald* offered biting financial coverage and a more comprehensive labor report than any of its contemporaries. And many observers believe that the *Herald* played the key role in holding together and mobilizing Labour Party activists, especially in 1931, when Ramsay MacDonald and other leaders defected to form a "national"government.

In its early years as an independent labor paper, the *Herald* did not hesitate to champion wildcat strikers, to castigate movement officials who were insufficiently militant, and to celebrate revolution abroad. But despite substantial circulation, mounting losses forced the paper into the hands of the TUC, which bolstered its sports coverage and other features while replacing passionate coverage of the rank and file with calm, measured reports of the activities of the official movement. *Herald* journalists awkwardly straddled the demands of producing a popular newspaper and satisfying the officials who controlled the paper, striving to position themselves as a "candid friend" defending Labour from outside attack but offering avenue for internal debate and criticism. Too many Labour officials demanded uncritical support, however, and the *Herald* increasingly exhorted readers to "Trust your leaders" (in the words of a 1926 editorial).

Richards argues that even in its early years, the *Herald* suffered from too narrow a focus on industrial struggles and electoral politics, never finding a way to put out a newspaper that could bring a distinctly working-class perspective to the broad array of human interests. This made it difficult for the paper to reach out beyond a core audience of Labour activists. More critical, however, was the movement's inability (and later Oldhams' unwillingness) to afford the resources to develop a more comprehensive news service and a better array of features. The *Herald* was

therefore obliged to rely on political support and on its thorough (if often uninspired) coverage of labor unions and politics to attract and hold readers. That was enough to attract a very substantial audience, but in a marketplace where readers matter less than advertisers it was not enough to enable the newspaper to survive.

This is a thoughtful, critical history of an important newspaper—one that both pointed to the possibilities of an alternative approach to journalism and to the substantial obstacles that stood in its path. And while the paper ultimately failed, "there was a rather earnest decency about it . . . . No paper . . .was more consistent than the *Herald* in offering a voice to those who are excluded, derided or both by the bulk of the mass-circulation press. Strikers, the Invergordon mutineers, foreigners whose viewpoints and interests did not necessarily coincide with those of British policy or capital—all were assured of fair treatment in at least one paper." Although the *Herald* often fell between horses, unable to resolve its commercial imperatives and political objectives, it consistently campaigned for a more egalitarian society.

>Jon Bekken, Suffolk University

The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life
by Michael Schudson, New York: The Free Press, 1998. 390 pp.

Understanding and prescribing the role of the press in American society, and in particular the interrelationships of the press, politics, and the public, has occupied media critics and scholars throughout the 20th Century. From the debates between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey in the 1920s about citizens and "experts" to recurring debates in recent years about the ostensible failure of the press and political communication to facilitate a healthy political culture, the stakes, and the fundamental issues, have largely remained the same.

Michael Schudson has dealt with these issues often in the past, most notably in his acclaimed books *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers and The Power of News.* In *The Good Citizen*, the significance of the press in the history of American civic life comes up repeatedly, but it is only part of Schudson's larger scope and purpose to provide extensive historical background and context for a sober assessment of contemporary citizenship, civic mindedness, and the "public sphere." In this, he is mostly successful, making this book a useful corrective to simplistic and often nostalgic readings of American political history, readings which have inevitably colored our understandings of the present.

Schudson argues that America has passed through three distinct eras in which good citizenship, and specifically the meaning of voting, have been defined and understood differently. The first era, which Schudson labels a "politics of assent," was marked by the nation's founding and lasted until the early 19th century. During this time the role of the white, male, property-owning citizen was little more than to delegate political authority on election day to a respected local gentleman, from whom he would then accept a complimentary glass of rum. In the early-to-mid 19th century, a transition took place during which voting and citizenship became the almost exclusive province of political parties. Defined by bosses, loyalty, corruption, and elaborate political spectacle, this "politics of parties" lasted until Progressive reformers ushered in a third era around the turn of the century. This model of citizenship, a "politics of the informed voter, "has for much of this century defined what it means for an American to participate appropriately in politics and civic life."

Schudson makes the case persuasively that all of these models of citizenship can be found lacking, whether because of endemic, fundamental unfairness ("assent"), corruption and robotic decisionmaking ("parties"), or excessive complication and individualism ("informed voter"). Even the ostensibly ideal democratic deliberation of 17th Century New England town meetings comes up short, not only because of a disenfranchised majority and low voter turnout even by those who were eligible, but because the meetings themselves emphasized order, deference, and consensus over all else. In short, Schudson says, if we are going to judge the quality of modern-day civic engagement and participation based on comparisons to times past, we ought first have no illusions about that past.

To Schudson, American civic life and political participation today are not in a state of crisis, as many have argued. In fact, depending on how one defines these ideas, we might not even be experiencing a decline. Schudson describes the era of the last few decades as a budding fourth model of citizenship, which now intermingles with the model of the rational, informed voter. This "politics of the rights-bearing citizen," sown by among other things the Civil Rights Movement, feminism, and landmark Supreme Court decisions, has widened the scope of what should be deemed political participation. And these reverberations, together with what are often mixed, ambiguous indicators (such as "trust" in public institutions), suggest to Schudson that "to summarize all of this as amounting to a decline in civic well-being is, to put it kindly, premature."

Schudson is effective and persuasive in tracing the evolution and trajectory of citizenship and public life in America. His clear-eyed look at the supposed glory days of politics past better contextualizes where we find ourselves now, making at least disputable the notion that the civic

glass is half-empty, rather than half-full. That said, Schudson is bit too sunny in his readings of American civic life today, consistently fudging and/or putting an overly optimistic spin on recent findings, among them Robert Putnam's mostly convincing discussions about a decline in American "social capital." Schudson persuades that we should have no desire to go back in time, and that seen in the context of America's evolution our civic life and levels of political participation do not necessarily constitute a crisis, but he also takes his contrarian argument about the present a bit too far.

Weaved into Schudson's story and argument are several discussions, many of them cogent, about the role of the press throughout these different eras of citizenship. In large part these discussions have the effect of suggesting, as Schudson has in past work, that the power of mass media in either fostering or hindering a healthy body politic is often exaggerated. He is particularly effective on this count in poking holes in the idea that America's founders saw the First Amendment and a "free press" in much the same way people do today, "that is, as keystones of our entire political system and central, necessary guarantors of a democratic way of life." Their thoughts on the matter, he demonstrates, were decidedly mixed—inspiring and frequently quoted affirmations notwithstanding.

This book would prove relevant and useful to anyone with a special interest in the role the press plays and has played in American civic life and political culture. In addition to telling a thoughtful and compelling story about the long trajectory of "the good citizen," it provides much-needed historical context for ongoing debates about, among other things, "public journalism," press cynicism and its effects, and the changing character of political communication in the age of television and the Internet.

>Marco Calavita, New York University

Health and British Magazines in the 19th Century

By E. M. Palmegiano, Lanham, MD. and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1998. 282 pp.

Professor Palmegiano has fulfilled a real need with this publication on an important facet of life and health concerns in Britain during the decades between 1820 and 1900, as reflected in Victorian periodicals. As she asserts in the Preface, "Health and headlines were serious matters in 19th century Britain . . ." and, therefore, "The scope of this book is wellness as science and how society understood it at the time. The first reflects the influence of experts, accurate or not, the second the interests

of the government and the governed . . ." What renders the work so important is the fact that it is based on material drawn from 2,604 articles published in 48 periodicals "whose commentators shaped interpretation or policy authoritatively . . . [and] . . . spoke with some credibility. . ." Indeed, as Palmegiano notes, from 1824 to 1900 "news of health was abundant" and journalistic coverage of the topic was motivated by private and public concerns. Thus "Columnists . . . circulated advice, admonitions, and calls to action . . . [and] . . . Epidemics and esoteric maladies, the pregnant and the senile, physicians and charlatans, exercise, diet, and environment engrossed the media . . . ."

Palmegiano's succinct preface is followed by a highly informative "Introduction" which deals with what was published on "Unwellness," the "Unwell," "Caregivers and Care," "Being Healthy" and "Health in the United Kingdom." She covers each topic by decades (1820s, 1830s, for example) and emphasizes the major health concerns and problems during each decade of the 19th century. "Unwellness," Palmegiano states, "tantalized 19th century columnists."

During the 1820s, insanity, its cause and treatment shared the limelight with such "plagues" as tuberculosis, typhoid, and rabies. Ten years later, insanity still claimed the attention of writers on health issues, but so did rabies, tuberculosis, and cholera and the afflictions caused by factory work. In the next decade, the 1840s, cholera, tuberculosis, and hazards of factory work continued to be the subject of discussions on health. During the 1850s, "The resolve to unravel the causes and the cures of insanity" again inundated the magazines, but now work in the mines equaled factory work as a cause of occupational illnesses. The upsurge of cholera during the 1850s also evoked commentaries on sanitation, air quality, housing, and quarantine as means to control the epidemic.

The study of the causes of the "types" of "unwellness" widened in the 1860s, with some writers focusing on "consanguineous marriage" as solutions for "unhealthiness." Cholera was still "vexing" to health commentators and questions were being raised on the efficiency of the Contagious Diseases Acts to control the spread of venereal diseases. There was also a growing concern with tobacco and smoking as causes of respiratory illnesses and also greater discussion of stress and heart attacks, gout, skin diseases, tooth decay, dyspepsia, and mental illness.

The 1860s were marked by a concern with the causes of accidents, shipwrecks, the occupational hazards of coal mining, and the linking of match manufacturing to jaw cancer. The concern with occupational diseases and illness continued throughout the 1870s, but venereal disease control legislation provoked "a glaringly gendered and raucous debate."

The decrease in cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, and smallpox was attributed to improvements in sewage disposal and water supply.

Occupational diseases again "engrossed" the media during the 1880s, "the apogee of periodical perusal of deleterious trades" with sweatshops, railways, and fishing singled out as increasingly risky for work. Care and treatment of the insane were still major concerns for writers of health issues, but now eugenics began to compete with humanitarianism as a means to improve the "quality" of the "race" and concern over venereal disease control waned. In the 1890s, "the scrutiny of specific diseases was so intense as to suggest universal distress about unwellness . . . ." Again there were essays on the dangers of smoking and the "risk" of tobacco. But the "crisis" of the 1890s was whether insanity or the institutionalizing of the insane was increasing.

Palmegiano observes that the "study of the unwell deepened in magazines during the 19th century when patient conventionally connoted sufferer . . . ." During the 1830s, writing on patients "traversed two avenues": (1) concentrating on "literary deathbed scenes," and (2) conveying "the emotions of the afflicted in either rapid recovery or near fatal experience . . . ." After 1870, writers on the "unwell" concentrated on patients' perspectives and on articulating their needs. In dealing with the "unwell," Palmegiano concentrates on the "Poor," "The Young," and "Women" and asserts that until the 1820s, "the impoverished were not news." Then, in the 1830s, the condition of the "unwell" poor was publicized in articles on nutrition, housing, recreation, and hygiene.

There was also great interest in insanity among the indigent, which persisted into the 1860s and 1870s, decades when writers charged that paupers were being relegated to badly managed outpatient departments in hospitals. Urban and rural district nurses, who attended the poor, were lionized by almost all commentators on health issues. In the 1880s, several writers castigated the government for tolerating" the protracted poverty that bred generations of physically and mentally unwell . . . ." Also significant was the concept in the 1890s that the poor were "perpetually ailing." Nevertheless by 1900 many writers on health issues were asserting "that the welfare of the sick poor should be a matter of public policy . . ." and concern.

Although little attention was accorded to the problems of "impoverished" youth in the periodicals during the 1820s and 1830s, "journalistic voices on unwell youth loudened" during the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, in sensational articles on baby-farming, the beating of children at home, on the streets, and in school and in praise for the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. There was also a plethora of articles asserting that feeding children in schools, selling food at cost to the poor,

and clothing the "ragged" were really less expensive than supporting the indigent. There were fewer articles on children in the periodicals during the 1890s, but great emphasis on government responsibility for the health of the young and the need for schools to propagate the virtues of cleanliness and for teachers to detect nutritional deficiencies and physical and mental illness.

As for the health of women, Palmegiano notes that before the 1840s, articles in the periodicals listed hysteria, hypochondria, and "hidden insanity" as major female health problems. During the 1840s the periodicals featured articles on the hazards of childbirth with or without ether or chloroform. The ensuing decades were marked by more coverage on women's health, often stressing the deleterious effects of hard work employment on women. Major themes in the 1860s were "Women attending women, as doctors and nurses . . . ," the effect of fashion (corsets etc.) on the health of women, and the perils of pregnancy and childbirth in the workhouses and slums.

The 1870s featured articles urging that "All women should learn physiology and nutrition to lessen unwellness for themselves and their progeny" and on the "crusade" against the Contagious Diseases Acts. As the latter subsided during the 1880s with the repeal of these Acts, the heroine of the articles became the "gentlewoman" betrayed by physicians "who mis-diagnosed and humiliated her." This criticism persisted throughout the 1890s, but in language, says Palmegiano, "that did not bode well for unwell women."

The centerpiece of this excellent work is, of course, the detailed "Check List of Articles" in 48 periodicals, ranging from *Ainsworth's Magazine* (1842-1854) to *The Westminster Review* (1824-1900). Its use is enhanced by separate author and subject indices and, of course, by Palmegiano's annotations and summaries of all articles listed. This study is certainly a major contribution to an understanding of the development of commentaries on health in the British periodical press during the 19th century.

>J. O. Baylen, Emeritus, Eastbourne, England

Media Making: Mass Media in Popular Culture

by Lawrence Grossberg, Ellen Wartella and D. Charles Whitney, Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA, 1998. 440 pp.

Media Making is one of those all-inclusive, I-Hope-I-Haven't-Forgotten-Anything, media studies texts. It appears to be aimed at a first or second year media class (whether structured as a mass communications

or basic media theory course). The prose is personable, clear, free of jargon, without the text being condescending or simplistic. Grossberg and company foreground themselves as boomers who have seen the field of media studies change from a collage of faculty areas (English, Sociology, Psychology) to a discipline in its own right. Their attempt, largely successful, is to provide an overview, explanation, model of, as well as a handbook for, media studies.

The text includes a concise discussion of media history, theories and definitions of culture, the ways that media and culture interact. These basic discussions are followed by short chapters on economics and media, and the ways that institutions manipulate cultural forms to further their own ends. Once the structural work is out of the way, the authors move on to explain basic semiotics, the creation of meaning, the struggle for interpretative control, the problems of ideology. The media viewer is constructed as an entity who both creates and consumes media.

A very short final chapter discusses the globalization of media, and it is here that the text is weakest. Before examining that, however, it's worth considering the text's strengths, for there are many. The authors' discussion of interpretative theories, of cultural study, media study, political economy, psychology, audience behavior, and interpretative endeavor are precise and insightful. The reader will find reader-response theory as well as Shannon and Weaver's communication model discussed, although not by name, necessitating support and discussion from the teacher.

Because the authors don't want to include examples that will date their text and render it obsolete too quickly, there are few examples for the students to work with (mainly television shows are used). Again, the teacher will need to supplement the text with current examples so that the student can reify the theory. Initially the lack of examples may frustrate the student, but ultimately it should be liberating, since students will be encouraged to test their own examples against the theory the text proposes. When the text discusses hegemonic forms of advertising, the student may well fill in the blanks with "the Gap" or "Benetton." The result will be that much more powerful for the reader. So, like many useful things, there is some assembly required here.

Because the text is comprehensive enough, although not exhaustive, it could replace the two or three texts a media class might be called on to use (and clearly it has been designed that way). The teacher should be aware that the focus is relentlessly American, and "culture," mass culture only. There are brief nods in the direction of other media cultures, as well as folk traditions, but the text always returns to western media factories and their output (there is no discussion, for instance, of the largest film-making center in the world, India). The authors' political stance is

cautiously optimistic. They see the reader-viewer as a mediated subject, but also one who can take some control of available cultural levers. Because the authors enjoy popular forms, there is no tedious Neil Postman tirade about the end of the culture as we know it. On issues like media violence and the effects of pornography, the balance is excellent.

On other issues, though, the text is disturbingly silent. While there is a good discussion of gender issues throughout, there is very little on race. Since this text is, as the authors finally admit, about America and American cultural forms, it seems odd that there is so little discussion of race. It is hardly an issue we can avoid. The problem of short-changing race points to the fact that this text will not be useful for a discussion of the globalization of media, the cultural export of America to the world, issues of cultural imperialism. There is no discussion of a media culture other than that of the continental United States. The danger of such an omission is that the world appears to be white, middle-class, information—and technology—rich, and technologically adept. It's hard enough convincing an 18-year old that there is a world outside—a text like this won't disturb that picture.

If you're looking for a primer in media theory, semiotics, popular and mass culture, the economics and power politics of media as panoptic space, then this will be a useful text. Be ready to supplement it with texts that discuss the rest of the world though, because this one doesn't include it.

>Tim Blackmore, The University of Western Ontario

Tell the Truth and Run: George Seldes and the American Press

Filmed documentary produced by Rick Goldsmith, Hohokus, NJ: New Day Films, 1996. 1:51.

During a career that spanned a remarkable eight decades, George Seldes served as a war correspondent, investigative reporter, and pioneer media critic. Although never a household name and remembered mainly among a camp of print journalists, Seldes' passing in 1995 drew unusual attention outside the media community, the extended fanfare the result of this feature-length documentary released the following year. En route to an Academy Award nomination, it was ravely reviewed at regional film festivals from coast to coast. The work of Berkeley producer Rick Goldsmith, this two-hour tribute to Seldes is now available on home video and being marketed for educational use.

Upon the film's initial screening, notices in *The New York Times*, *San Francisco Examiner*, and *The Quill* cheered its lead component: the on-camera recollections of a 98-year-old Seldes recorded just before his death.

Theater critics including David Hunter of the *Hollywood Reporter* additionally highlighted Goldstein's culling of more than 500 rare photographs and archival films. Almost every observer applauded the complete portrayal of Seldes' life, which carried him to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Post* and culminated in the 1940s with his founding of *In Fact*, the first publication devoted to commentaries on press performance. Yet with the film now pointed to a second life as an educational tool, the pronouncements of Charles Klotzer in the *St. Louis Journalism Review*, that the Seldes epic "should become must viewing for every beginning journalism class, "needs additional consideration.

The film loses much in its conversion from a theater product to video, such that any classroom screening would be fraught with risk. On the small screen neither Seldes nor the subject matter come off bigger-than-life, Goldstein's original intent. While students indeed would see a journalist who interviewed Lenin in the 1920s and battled big tobacco in the 1940s, they are likely to zero in on those scenes of Seldes from the 1990s, hardly a fighter but a kindly, delightful patriarch who at one point gives backyard gardening tips. Above all Goldstein proves that two hours is too long for almost anything on TV. The program is thick with detail. Unless it was shown in installments or in edited form, a student's interest would surely stray.

This is not to say the program should be overlooked. Over a longer period than almost any other reporter, Seldes crusaded against the abuses of government and corporate America. As well, he was the first person to realize that journalism is not threatened as much by outside forces as those from within. His lessons from the 1930s on advertiser influence and media monopolization are especially timely today.

Ultimately, Goldstein's achievement is less in the vein of biographic drama and more a cinematic encyclopedia. It works best as a reference into the life and times of a journalistic hero. If somewhat demanding as a TV viewing experience, Goldstein's documentary clearly demonstrates how video can be used to contribute to the historical record.

>Craig Allen, Arizona State University

Texas Signs On

by Richard Schroeder, College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Press, 1998. 247 pp.

The names most associated with the formative days of broadcasting are, naturally, those of the giants: Marconi, Zworykin, Farnsworth, Sarnoff and Murrow. But the charm of *Texas Signs On* is that it recognizes the contributions of the ambitious small-town dreamers who grew up to

be the engineers, entrepreneurs and announcers who brought radio and television to the vast and varied landscape of Texas.

It is a testament to the rootsy quality of *Texas Signs On* that the names of Texas' two most famous and celebrated broadcasters, Walter Cronkite and Dan Rather, do not appear in the book, while the name of broadcast engineer Truett Kimzey appears on seven pages. Cronkite and Rather made their careers outside of Texas, and *Texas Signs On* maintains a tight focus on broadcasting between the Rio Grande and the Red.

Some of the great and famous do make their appearances in Schroeder's history. He tells the story of how Elliot Roosevelt, FDR's son, looking to make his own mark but a broadcasting novice, came to Texas and launched the Texas State Network (TSN), which continues serving Texas radio stations and listeners to this day. Of how fledgling Fort Worth television station WBAP took the air a day earlier than planned to televise an appearance by President Harry Truman, gambling that Truman would win the 1948 election and forgive the station for bending the rule. Of how WBAP executive Harold Hough, named "dean of American broadcasters" in 1963 by the National Association of Broadcasters, persuaded NBC founder and president David Sarnoff to grant WBAP exclusive affiliation with the network over WFAA in the larger city of Dallas.

But those unknown to the general public who have made important contributions to broadcasting are the main focus of *Texas Signs On*. The students at Texas A&M University (then the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas), led by W.A. Tolson, who in 1921 broadcast the first play-by-play of a sporting event (the Thanksgiving Day game between the Aggies and their arch-rival, the University of Texas) by Morse Code; Mary Holliday, one of the first female broadcasters, who advanced from playing piano to hosting a talk show on WJAD in Waco during the 1920s; Kimzey, the engineer for KFJZ radio in Fort Worth, who with his own money built and demonstrated Texas' first television station, W5AGO, in 1934, five years before television's famous "coming out" at the New York World's Fair.

The book began as a dissertation. Schroeder delved into the files and archives of many Texas television and radio stations and the special collections of most of the state's major universities, but his interviews with more than 70 persons, some of whom have since died and whose stories otherwise would be lost to history, bring the book to life. Dave Naugle, an employee of TSN in the 1940s, remembered a particularly quaint (and macabre) program from radio's heyday:

> 'The Texas Pharmaceutical Hour' . . . was written by Forrest Cough, who was in a wheelchair from polio. He used to do a program where they rang 'The Bell of Death' and announced

deaths all over the state of Texas on the TSN network. They had a gong with a button on it, and press the button and 'Bong! The bell of death rings for . . . .'

The book is full of anecdotes. Immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, stations were required to keep a gun at the transmitter and show it to anyone wanting to enter after hours. During the war, radio, along with other industries, suffered a shortage of manpower (literally), and many women received the opportunity to announce and do other jobs previously held only by men (At WRR in Dallas, the production staff was all female). *Texas Signs On* explains how Claudia Alta Johnson (better known as Lady Bird) and her husband Lyndon got into broadcasting by purchasing an Austin radio station.

The book is organized in a roughly chronological sequence of four chapters, beginning with "Pre-regulation Broadcasting" and concluding with "The Expansion of Television and the Coming of Color." It is written in a series of vignettes, rather than a running narrative, so it is possible to read the book straight through or to find stories in specific areas of interest. Schroeder mostly acts as the impartial narrator, rarely offering editorial comment.

Decisions and actions emanating from Washington and New York have always shaped broadcasting, and have been well-documented. But *Texas Signs On* is a unique look at how radio and television actually grew up out in the middle of the country, in what was still a mostly rural state, far away from the centers of power and influence on the East Coast. As such, it provides a rare perspective on the history of broadcasting.

>J.M. Dempsey, University of North Texas

William Lindsay White, 1900-1973: In the Shadow of His Father.

By E. Jay Jernigan, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. 368 pp.

An admirably thorough and deeply penetrating biography, this book presents an outstanding scholarly description of a journalistic scion who, though he achieved true greatness on his own, was never able to escape the shadow of his more famous, but not necessarily more talented, father. This is not a surprising outcome for a son who won the Pulitzer Prize for a biography of his celebrated father.

It is rather remarkable, of course, that one, much less two, great journalists would begin their lives and their careers in a small Kansas town, although the "young Bill" purposely and pointedly achieved his

fame before returning to Emporia in middle age. Father purchased the *Emporia Gazette* in 1895 and used his editorial skills to win respect as the authentic voice of what the rest of the country thought was Midwest grassroots sentiment. Son first achieved national attention as a CBS World War II correspondent who produced radio reports during the 1939 Soviet invasion of Finland and subsequently wrote a best-selling book about his experiences, *They Were Expendable* (1942).

After returning to the United States, he wrote a nationally syndicated column called "Take a Look," and published articles in the *Reader's Digest* as well as more best-selling books. Jernigan (a Professor of English at Eastern Michigan University) writes quite well and at some length about the psychological toll the elder Williams' fame and success inflicted on the younger, but the book's formal—sometimes stiff, yet impeccably correct—prose style makes it difficult for readers to identify emotionally with the son's struggles for personal identity.

While his familial roles are not ignored, readers labor to gain insight into his position as son to mother Sallie, husband to Kathrine, brother to Mary Katherine, father to Barbara, and father-in-law to David Walker. To his credit, Jernigan does include many interesting and revealing anecdotes, like the wedding cake from Emporia mysteriously replacing the one that never made it from the New York City House of Blanche, but the book is far from a page-turner. Nevertheless, not intended to be a coffee-table book, this outstanding biography belongs on the bookshelf in the study of every serious journalist.

>Douglas S. Campbell, Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania

American Journalism

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The author examines the creation of an anti-slavery publication, The Philanthropist, *and one man's religious conversion that inspired the publication.*

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Editor's Note

Media History — Foreign and Domestic

The spring 2000 issue straddles two centuries of media history — from Civil War to civil rights — and many continents.

In the waning days of the Civil War, with the Confederate army depleted, President Jefferson Davis decided to try to tap a new source of recruits — Southern editors. The response of the editors to the idea that they would be conscripted is the fascinating topic of Debra Reddin van Tuyll's article, "The Rebels Yell: Conscription and Freedom of Expression in the Civil War South." By challenging Davis' authority to recuit them, were the editors simply trying to avoid combat? Or did they truly believe that Davis was trying to silence his critics by conscripting editors who had been critical of the way Davis handled the war?

Moral reform was the goal of James Gillespie Birney, who used his anti-slavey newspaper, *The Philanthropist*, as a way to promote the principles of abolition while adhering to Biblical standards. Nearly 30 years before the Civil War began, Birney recognized the sinfulness of slavery, according to Cathy Rogers Franklin. In her article, "James Gillespie Birney: the Revival Spirit, and *The Philanthropist*," Rogers describes a man "eager to spread the gospel of abolition in the most effective way possible." For Birney, abolition was a religious as well as a civil rights journey.

Many small town investigative reporters embraced their reform missions with the same fervor as Birney embraced abolition. In "Courageous Performance: Examining Standards of Courage Among Small Town Investigative Reporters in the 1950s and 1960s," Stephen A. Banning chronicles the winners of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Awards — an award named for an abolitionist editor who died for his beliefs. Banning's goal is to try to define courage as a moral standard among journalists. "How did some journalists characterize courage during the late 1950s and 1960s?" Banning asks.

The civil rights movement in the United States, as characterized by the overseas press, is the focus of "Snarls Echoing 'Round the World: The 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign on the World Stage," by Richard Lentz. Many media historians have analyzed domestic coverage of civil rights in the U.S., says Lentz, but much can be learned from looking at the way overseas journalists — especially African journalists — portrayed what was happening in America. Lentz says "foreign perceptions of

racist problems had a powerful impact on America's standing abroad" and, as a result, affected President Kennedy's actions on civil rights.

The importance of international media history is the focus of a provocative Great Ideas, "A Call for an International History of Journalism," authored by noted media historian Mitchell Stephens. Media historians tend to be too ethnocentric, says Stephens, whether they're writing media history in the United States or abroad. Yet media histories share common characteristics and ideals carried across borders, he says. Many important figures in the U.S.'s early media history were, in fact, born someplace else. To limit the study of media history to one geographic location, says Stephens, is to miss the surprising commonality in media history worldwide.

David Spencer picks a valuable history of one of America's most important media figures — E. W. Scripps — as his Editor's Choice this month. Also included in this issue's book reviews are books about the *Baltimore Afro-American*; noted communications scholar Wilbur Schramm; media and the military; the press and politics; and women in the media. This broad collection of topics illustrates once again the vast range of subjects available to media scholars who choose to embrace the importance of journalism history, foreign and domestic.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

American Journalism
EDITOR POSITION OPEN

The American Journalism Historians Association is looking for a new editor of *American Journalism*, its quarterly refereed journal of media history. The position will become vacant effective January 1, 2001, with some transfer of editorial responsibilities in the fall of 2000.

The appointment is for six years, with the possibility of renewal. Publishing costs for *American Journalism* have been shared by AJHA, which funds the production costs, and the host institution, which generally funds the support costs for the editor and his/her staff.

All interested parties should be active members of the American Journalism Historians Association.

For further information, anyone interested in applying or nominating someone for this position should contact

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Carol Sue Humphrey
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University of Florida

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Southern Illinois University

Richard Kaplan
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Kim Karloff
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Beverly Keever
University of Hawaii

Paulette Kilmer
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Elliott King
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Judith Knelman
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Bill Knowles
University of Montana

Theodore Kornweibel
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Ed Lambeth
University of Missouri

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Richard Lentz
Arizona State University

Lawrence Lichty
Northwestern University

Greg Lisby
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Larry Lorenz
Loyola University

Charles Marler
Abilene Christian University

Ron Marmarelli
Central Michigan University

John Marrs
Everett Community College

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University of Nebraska

Genevieve McBride
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Bob McChesney
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Maclyn McClary
Humboldt State University

Sheila McIntyre
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Floyd McKay
Western Washington University

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Ohio State University

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Pat McNeely
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James McPherson
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Beverly Merrick
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The Rebels Yell: Conscription and Freedom of Expression in the Civil War South

by Debra Reddin van Tuyll

Confederate draft laws exempted many different kinds of professionals, including newspaper editors and their employees. Late in the war, however, the Confederate army's manpower shortage became so severe that President Jefferson Davis began looking for new ways to fill the ranks depleted by men lost to desertion, disease and death.

On November 7, 1864, Davis proposed not only drafting editors, but also asked the Confederate Congress to give him the power to determine where the editors would serve. This article examines editorial reaction to Davis' speech, with emphasis on the freedom of speech rationales offered by the editors as reasons for not extending the draft to their profession.

While Southern newspaper editors and their staffs were exempt from military service during the Civil War,[1] many chose to serve.[2] By February 1861, scarcely a month after secession, 16 editors had joined the Army of South Carolina Volunteers.[3] So many printers volunteered for military service that many Southern newspapers had to shut down, or at the very least, temporarily suspend operations. Later in the war, an estimated 75 percent of all Southern printers were serving in the military.[4]

Given this patriotic response to secession and the consequent call for men to arms, one might expect quite a different editorial reaction than occurred when, in November 1864, Jefferson Davis brought a proposal to

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resolve the army's manpower problems to the Confederate Congress. This proposal, had it passed, would have rescinded the draft exemption for newspaper editors and their essential employees[5] that had existed since 1862 when the Congress approved the first conscription laws.

Many editors saw Davis' proposal as nothing less than an attempt to gain control of opposition newspapers and send their editors to the front while retaining supportive editors at home to run Administration-friendly papers. Editors responded with incendiary editorials that gave a whole new meaning to the phrase "The Rebels Yell." This article examines what editors wrote about Davis' proposals,[6] with emphasis on how they understood the free press aspects of the situation.

Like their fellow white southerners, Confederate editors showed through their editorials on this issue that they had an obsessive love of personal liberty, probably born of their everyday exposure to slavery.[7] Through the war, the press of both the South and the North faced various sorts of constraints upon their publishing, and the editors' vicious editorials could have been as much a reaction to the cumulative effects of these earlier restrictions[8] as to Davis' new proposal. The question of press censorship *per se*, however, is one for another article. This article focuses on what Confederate editors understood freedom of the press to be and to mean.

The conscription argument also offers a view of where Confederate nationalism ranked in the minds of Southern journalists when compared to individual liberties. The role of the press in the development and sustenance of Southern nationalism is a subject which has been speculated upon, but never dealt with definitively.[9] Nor does this paper, but it does take a step toward addressing the topic by examining the attitudes and the proximate cause—conscription—that provoked Confederate editors to write so passionately about individual liberty and freedom of expression at a time when the survival of the Confederate States of America as a nation was in grave doubt.

Confederate Army Needed Soldiers

By the fall of 1864, the Confederate Army's need for more men was acute. After late summer's hard-fought campaign, Sherman's Army of the Tennessee occupied Atlanta. Confederate General John B. Hood, in consultation with Confederate leaders, decided a little artifice might work to pull Sherman out of the city. Hood took his troops and headed north into Tennessee with the hope that Sherman would evacuate Atlanta to protect his supply and communication lines that reached back to Chattanooga. Civil War historian Bruce Catton called Hood's flight to Tennessee a "strategy of despair, verging on the wholly fantastic."[10]

Hood's strategy failed. Sherman did not take the bait. Instead, he paid attention to what he read about a speech by Confederate President Jefferson Davis in Macon. On September 23 in Macon, Davis told the assembled crowd that two-thirds of the army was absent from duty. Death, disease and desertion had reduced Confederate forces by between 100,000 and 200,000.[11]

The situation was particularly grave in Georgia. Because of Hood's evacuation, the state had only Gen. Joseph Wheeler's 5,000-man cavalry, ordered to Georgia upon Hood's evacuation, for protection. Wheeler's horsemen faced 60,000 Union infantrymen and 6,000 Union cavalrymen. Not even the Georgia militia remained in the field. After the fall of Atlanta, Georgia Governor Joseph Brown sent them all home to tend their farms.[12]

Compounding the discrepancy between the Confederacy's manpower and the Union's, after the fall of Atlanta, Lincoln called for an additional 500,000 Union recruits.[13] Davis' admission of Confederate weakness was all the encouragement William T. Sherman needed to set off across Georgia.

Davis Proposes Conscription for Editors

Jefferson Davis gave another speech the following November, one that triggered a flurry of angry editorials from Southern journalists. This speech, given November 7, 1864 at the opening session of the Southern Congress, called for changes to the exemptions to the Confederacy's conscription laws. Editors, blacksmiths and other types of professionals had been exempt from military service since the first draft laws were passed in 1862,[14] but many had chosen to serve anyway.

Journalists served not only in the regular army and volunteer companies but also in home guards and state militias. Davis asked the Congress to remove those exemptions as a way of refilling the depleted ranks of the Confederate Army. From their editorial responses to Davis' proposal, newspapermen did not object so much to being drafted as they did to the element of Davis' proposal that would have given military authorities, including the president as commander-in-chief, the power to determine where conscripts served.[15] Editors believed that if Davis had the power to detail, he would use it to silence critical editors.

The president told Congress, "A discretion should be vested in the military authorities, so that a sufficient number of those essential to the public service might be detailed to continue the exercise of their pursuits or professions . . . ."[16] Editors saw this provision as a subtle means of muzzling journalists who were outspoken against Davis. They believed the new law would be used to send some journalists to the front as cannon

fodder and keep others at home who would follow orders about what to print and what not to print.

In defending his proposal, Davis argued that the defense of "home, family and country" was everyone's paramount duty in a country where equal rights were accorded to all. "No pursuit or position should relieve anyone who is able to do active duty from enrollment in the Army, unless his functions or services are more useful to the defense of his country in another sphere," Davis said.[17] He argued that all the people working in exempted professions could not "be equally necessary in their several professions, nor distributed throughout the country in such proportions that only the exact numbers required are found in each locality . . . ."[18]

At the beginning of the war, the draft had hardly been necessary. In the first few months after secession and the attack on Fort Sumter, the Confederate Army had actually turned away volunteers. However, as the war lingered on, the South lost soldiers through death, disease and desertion. The biggest problem, Davis believed, was desertion. He told the crowd assembled to hear him in Macon on September 23 that nearly two-thirds of the Confederate Army was "missing" due to desertion. As the Southern homefront began to crumble under the weight of supporting the war, men had deserted in huge numbers to go home and help their families.

Tinkering with the laws on conscription to increase manpower was nothing new for the Confederate Congress. In fact, the fall of 1864 was not the first time the idea to remove exemptions for journalists had been floated.[19] On February 17, 1864, the Confederate Congress, upon Davis' recommendation, removed about half the draft exemptions which had previously existed.[20]

Davis' rationale for recommending even more revocations at the opening of Congress was this:

> The defense of home, family and country is universally recognized as the paramount political duty of every member of society . . . . No pursuit nor position should relieve anyone who is able to do active duty from enrollment in the army, unless his function or services are more useful to the defense of his country in another sphere. But it is manifest that this cannot be the case with entire classes.[21]

Editors Didn't Want to be Conscripted

The exemption question had been divisive from the first conscription debates in 1862 and had been among the several issues that galvanized opposition to Davis which lasted throughout the war.[22] Criticism of

Davis grew louder and more strident as the war progressed, and the government was forced to adopt restrictive measures, such as conscription and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Davis' friend W. N. Pendleton, a Virginia clergyman and soldier, wrote to the president just after Christmas in 1864 that Davis needed to do something to "acquire stronger hold on the public heart."[23]

While many Confederate citizens discussed conscription in their journals and memoirs, few dealt with the question of exemptions. One who did was Virginian Sallie Brock Putnam. In her memoir, written in 1868, Putnam reported that the 1864 efforts to increase conscription by removing exemptions met with public approval. She also noted that the first conscription laws passed in 1862 were generally popular.[24]

Davis' political opponents, such as Rep. Henry S. Foote of Tennessee,[25] however, seized the opportunity to denounce the Confederate president. On November 8, Foote gave a speech to Congress in which he claimed the proposal was a blatant attempt at press manipulation. He proposed a resolution that would have stopped any attempt to draft editors.[26] The *Richmond Enquirer* believed Foote's measure should have passed immediately.[27] Foote denied introducing the resolution to curry favor with the press, claiming he had denounced the press more than anyone else in the House. The measure was sent to the House Military Affairs Committee for consideration,[28] and Congress moved on to other, more pressing matters. Foote's resolution was eventually discredited due to his illicit peace activities.

Many Southern editors jumped on Davis' speech immediately and criticized it with great abandon and glee. Others (the *Charleston Daily Courier*, the *Augusta Constitutionalist* and the *Savannah Republican*, for example) virtually ignored the speech other than to report that Davis had opened the new session of the Confederate Congress with a speech. One might expect, given the desperation of the situation in the Confederacy generally and in Georgia particularly, that the usually patriotic Southern press would have supported an attempt to remedy the manpower shortage. This was not entirely the case. In fact, some new militia units formed to resist Sherman.

Editors Met to Organize

In Augusta, newspaper editors and their printers met on November 21 "for the purpose of organizing themselves into a military company for the local defense."[29] They named their new company the Augusta Press Guards and sent a telegram to Sen. Benjamin H. Hill in Richmond to announce their unit's "readiness for the conflict." The next day, the *Augusta Constitutionalist* reported, "After some little conviviality in which

several toasts were drank, and all enjoying themselves hugely the meeting adjourned, and we doubt not should the enemy make his appearance in this vicinity the 'August Press Guards' will be found reporting ready for duty."[30] This was, however, a local militia group formed solely for the purpose of protecting Augusta from Sherman. It was not a group of men volunteering for the regular Confederate Army whose ranks Davis sought to fill.

Despite this symbolic act of defiance by a handful of journalists, and despite the desperation of Georgia's situation, many of that state's editors were loud in their criticism of Davis' proposal. The most strident voice was Nathan Morse, the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel* editor who, in the six weeks between Davis' speech and the fall of Savannah, published more than 20 articles criticizing the conscription and detail of editors.[31] By comparison, in the same period, the *Macon Telegraph* and the *Southern Watchman* each published only six articles. At the same time as editors were responding to Davis, they were covering Sherman's March to the Sea. Coverage of this major story by far eclipsed coverage of Davis' plan to replenish the Confederate Army. If Morse published 20 stories on the free press issue, he easily published five times as many articles and editorials about Sherman's six-week-long campaign. The same was true for other papers.

That Georgia editors especially would criticize Davis' attempts to raise more men for the army is perplexing on at least two levels. First, one would expect the editors to understand that criticism of their president would harm public morale. After all, one of the guiding principles of the Confederacy was Southern unity. In fact, the Confederacy had even gone so far as to abolish political parties in order to avoid internal conflict.

Second, one would expect Georgia editors to urge every able-bodied man and boy to help repel the Union invader and, as many did, to take up arms themselves, even at the cost of shutting down their newspapers. However, these expectations are based on 20th century American values rather than 19th century Southern values. For a mid-19th century white Southern male, little else—even home and family—was as important as the cherished principles of liberty and individual rights.[32]

An Interference with Freedom of Speech

For the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*'s Nathan Morse, the main point of debate on the free press issue was that drafting editors into the Army was tantamount to despotism and an infringement of the

people's constitutional rights. On November 12, 1864, the same day he ran Davis' speech, Morse published one of the first editorials on the issue.[33] He saw the proposal to draft editors as an issue not only for the press, but for the public as well. Morse and other editors clearly believed any infringement of press rights was an infringement of the public's rights, and they called on the people to oppose the plan.

In one editorial, Morse quoted former President Andrew Jackson saying that nothing, not even civil war, would justify a government's "official interference with the freedom of speech or of the press," and he called for Confederate citizens to let Richmond know they would not stand for any tampering with the press. "The people are the power," he editorialized. "They will sustain a free and independent press. Let the latter do its duty . . . and at once crush out the hydra-headed monster—military despotism—that has reared its crested head at Richmond."[34]

Other editors echoed Morse's point. On December 2, *Macon Telegraph* editor Henry Lynden Flash published an editorial from Richmond correspondent P.W. Alexander that maintained, "The newspaper press is the organ of the aggregate intellect of a people. It is the mightiest power on the face of God's earth." Alexander added that an attack on the press is an attack on the freedom for all. The *Memphis Appeal* called on Davis to remember that his oath of office required him to defend the Confederate Constitution and then noted, ". . . without a free and independent press to guard and protect them, the liberties of the people will soon be undermined and swallowed up."[35]

The *Camden* (S.C.) *Daily Journal* echoed this sentiment with an editorial on November 23. It predicted that if Davis' proposal passed, the South would turn into a "howling desert." The press, the paper continued, "is a war power and no professional journalist in the land feels the slightest gratitude for his exemption." The *Charleston Mercury,* one of Davis' most bitter critics, took a libertarian approach to the question. It cited the First Amendment and asked, "Could language be plainer or more conclusive?"[36] On November 26, the paper went even further in stating, ". . . even a licentious press is far less evil than a press that is enslaved because both sides may be heard in the former case, but not the latter . . . . An enslaved press must be evil; for an enslaved press suppresses truth."

Perhaps the most heated point of contention was Davis' proposal that Confederate military authorities be given the power to "detail" editors to the duty of producing newspapers. Most of the writers who addressed this point were unanimous in their analysis of the problem with a press controlled by the military. A journalist, editor after editor wrote, must be independent to do his job properly. He cannot owe fealty to

anyone or anything other than the people. The *Macon Telegraph*'s Flash believed that some of the classes of professions that faced a loss of their exemptions could function well as Army personnel, but not journalists. He wrote:

> A shoemaker, a tanner or a blacksmith can perform his duties as well when detailed as when exempt, but the very life and soul of the press is freedom. So impressed were the wise men who framed the Constitution that they expressly declared in that instrument that 'Congress should pass no law limiting the freedom of the press.' [37]

John H. Christy, editor of the Athens, Georgia, *Southern Watchman*, reprinted an article from the *Richmond Enquirer* that also addressed this point. The writer contended that, "The Press is not a 'class,' it is an institution . . . . Neither shoemaking, nor tanning, nor blacksmithing, nor milling, nor any of the 'classes' with which the President has connected the Press have any constitutional recognition." The article argued that the first step toward despotism would have been taken in the South when the press came under the control of "Executive details."[38] The *Montgomery Mail* scoffed, " . . . no thoroughly independent man would accept a detail to edit a newspaper."[39] The *Richmond Enquirer* agreed. Its editors wrote, "For 60 years the *Richmond Enquirer* has existed a newspaper, free, unbought, unpurchasable and never shall it exist otherwise with our consent."[40]

The theme of despotism was a common one. The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, Montgomery Mail, Richmond Whig, Raleigh Progress, Macon Intelligencer* and *Charleston Mercury* each leveled charges of despotism against Davis. The *Raleigh Progress* went so far as to proclaim that if the South was to have a military dictator, it would just as soon have Abraham Lincoln as its leader. Adding insult to injury, the *Progress* continued, "We have no hesitation in saying that if our authorities had been zealous in prosecuting the war against the common enemy as they have been passing and executing laws to oppress, distress and divide their own citizens, the military situation would have been much better than it is."[41]

Editors found other reasons to object to Davis' proposal as well. For example, Flash noted another problem with giving Confederate authorities the right to assign editors to various military tasks. He maintained that it would be quite easy for an officer who had been criticized by a particular editor to send him to the front. Along with the *Southern Watchman*'s Christy, Flash noted that there were few newspapermen in the Confederacy, too few to be of any great service to the cause. On this point, he was absolutely right.

Many Editors Seek Exemptions

By February 1865, just four months after Davis' speech, 123 editors and 683 newspaper employees had exemptions from the Confederate Army.[42] Consequently, Flash argued, if journalists were to be drafted, then their papers should all be shut down. "Give them a Free Press or none at all," he wrote.[43] Christy took a darker view, arguing that if editors were drafted, subjugation of the South would follow within six months.[44] Even without this legislation, the South was subjugated in five months, anyway, though not, perhaps, in the way Christy envisioned.

The editors were not Davis' only opponents on this measure. First was Foote's resolution, but adding fuel to the editorial fire already burning in Georgia, Governor Joseph Brown also objected to Davis' proposal.[45] He went so far as to prepare a speech on the topic to be given at a joint session of the Georgia Legislature. Brown never gave the speech, though, due to Sherman's capture of Georgia's capital, Milledgeville.[46] However, virtually every Georgia newspaper reprinted the speech.

Few Davis Supporters in the Press

Even in this crisis, not all editors were against Davis. The *Richmond Sentinel*, for example, in a story signed "Franklin," spoke out against exemptions for the press. The story contended there were many exempted so-called editors who "are unable to write a grammatical paragraph and have no more to do with editing their papers than the horses in their stables."[47] The editors, according to Franklin, paid others to write for them. "And herein the inquiry naturally arises," he continued, "how far the liberty of the press is secured by an arrangement of this kind." In his November 7 speech, Davis also cited abuses of the draft exemptions as one reason for rescinding them.

The *Raleigh Progress* estimated there were only three Confederate newspapers that did not oppose Davis' proposal,[48] but it did not name the three. This study also has identified three newspapers that, while perhaps not supporting Davis, at least did not openly criticize his call for the draft of editors. Those were the *Savannah Republican*, the *Augusta Constitutionalist* and the *Charleston Daily Courier*.

The *Savannah Republican* appears to have published nothing on this issue. This cannot be determined with certainty, however, because only about half the issues from November and December 1864 have survived. Nor did the *Charleston Daily Courier* publish much of anything beyond a November 8 telegraphic dispatch about the speech. This was followed up

with publication of the full text of the speech on November 11. The *Augusta Constitutionalist,* whose owner was a noted Davis supporter, did make a few comments on the issue. On November 8, the paper carried the same wire summary of the speech that several other papers had used. On November 10, it ran a reprint of an editorial from the *Augusta Register* (formerly the *Atlanta Register*) that, while not addressing the conscription issue, was staunch in its support of Davis. The editor wrote:

> When the choice is the patriot and statesman, Jefferson Davis, or the Brutus, the tyrant, the Abolitionist, Abraham Lincoln, we admit we are for the former. When the choice is between the acts of the Southern administration and those of the vile Northern despotism, covered with infamy, falsehood, bribery and corruption, we are proud to take sides with the former.[49]

The *Constitutionalist* editors likened people who opposed Davis to those "men who denied the Savior because he came from Nazareth." In the single editorial the paper ran specifically dealing with Davis' November 7 speech, absolutely no mention was made of the conscription of editors, though the paper did mention Davis' proposal to employ 40,000 slaves as Army engineer laborers and pioneers.[50] It neither criticized nor praised Davis for this proposal.

There is little incontrovertible evidence to support the editors' view that Davis' proposal was a sort of draconian attempt to control an unruly press. Davis never hinted in any of his correspondence or his later speeches that his purpose was anything other than finding more men to serve in the Army. In his history of the Civil War, Davis claimed his primary objective in the fall of 1864 was merely to get men into the Confederate Army. He believed all he needed to defeat the Union was enough men to destroy the railroads between Atlanta and Chattanooga so that Sherman's campaign "would be blighted, his capture of Atlanta would become a barren victory, and he would probably be compelled to make a retreat."[51] Clement Eaton's 1977 biography of Davis contains an extensive chapter on his relationship with the press, but it makes no mention of an attempt by Davis to manipulate the press.[52]

Liberty and Revolution

In one issue of the *Constitutionalist*, a letter to the editor from a retired newspaper editor addressed the exemption issue.[53] The former editor stated he was an ardent supporter of a free press. However, he saw

the editors' objections to being drafted not as standing up for a valued principle but as cowardice, pure and simple. The editor wrote:

> '[F]reedom of the press' is a nobler and a higher thing than a shield from a conscript officer . . . . Its essence is of a loftier nature than exemption from military service. The bulwarks and buttresses that support it, are not 'bomb proofs' and hiding places for skulking soldiers.

This former journalist argued that the price of his colleagues' objections was disunity, which could cost the South the war. He argued, "The danger is division, want of unity or purpose and of effort, a momentary forgetfulness that nothing can be so valuable to us now, as military success—in other words, that everything sinks into insignificance compared with the great question whether we shall whip this fight."[54]

"All Rights Are Paralyzed"

With these words, this old editor echoed exactly what the Confederate central government had been saying since the beginning of the war—the only way to win the war would be to fight as a unified nation with one objective: liberty from Northern oppression. Yet liberty was the principle that undermined the Confederacy's ideal of unity, as the retired editor was fully aware. Revolution, he continued, put all rights at risk.

He argued that any people who choose to initiate a revolution put both public and private liberty at hazard because once the fighting started, the only reasonable alternative left would be to make the revolt successful. He wrote, once a revolution starts, "All rights, all privileges, all franchises, all prerogatives, are paralyzed, are put in abeyance, are as if they never had existence, until the fight is whipped, and the revolution is a success." And he reminded readers all unsuccessful revolutionaries have when the war ends is "the heel of the conqueror . . . on their necks" and the "poor pittance of existence as will enable them to crawl into dishonored graves, leaving to their children an inheritance of opprobrium and disgrace."[55]

This letter to the editor deftly predicted the future of the South following the Civil War, and its reasoning was much closer to what one might expect from Southern journalists at the time. The papers, up to this point, had worked hard to maintain Southern morale, to fan the fighting fire by building nationalistic sentiment among Southerners. Indeed, Confederate editors continued throughout Sherman's campaign, and even after the fall of Savannah, to publish articles predicting a Southern victory and articles obviously aimed at building morale. At the same time, these

editors were unable to see that their critical editorial commentaries about President Davis would have a devastating effect on Confederate morale and would undermine the Southern unity and patriotism they had sought for the last four years to engender.

One possible explanation is that these editors took their responsibilities as journalists seriously. These Confederate newspaper editorials show that 19th century Southern journalists were cognizant of the press' responsibility to keep the public informed on the issues of the day. It also is possible to speculate that these newspapermen believed there were some principles worth standing up for, even if the price was disunity at a critical time in war. Other Southerners also believed some principles were too important to be discarded, even in order to win a war. Certainly even some politicians, such as Governor Brown of Georgia and even Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens, held this view. Both argued against any measure that would infringe state or individual rights, even at the risk of losing the conflict.

If Confederate politicians held this attitude, it is not hard to extrapolate that same perspective to the Confederate press. If, indeed, these newspaper editors did believe that freedom of expression was so important that it ought not be lost, even in time of dire national crisis, this perhaps gives credence to Beringer et al.'s contention that the South lost the Civil War because it did not have the same will to win that the North had.[56]

Journalists First, Rebels Second

Ultimately, this issue, like so many political fracases, resulted in much newspaper space being filled, but little action. Nothing came of Davis' proposal. When he gave his speech, the Confederacy was already falling apart. The military situations in Virginia and Georgia forced the Confederate Congress to deal with more pressing issues and, of course, the war ended only a scant five months later.

However, the episode does offer a glimpse into editorial and—to a lesser degree, political—attitudes of the day toward the issue of freedom of the press. These 19th century Southern editors had two major objections to being drafted: the loss of their independence, which they believed was necessary if they were to adequately cover the war for their readers, and the resultant loss of liberty for all Confederate citizens, not just the press. They were, it seems, journalists first, rebels second.

Endnotes

[1]According to James W. Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), there were no profession-based exemptions in the North. Anyone could purchase an exemption for $300, which would purchase a substitute. Outright exemptions were limited under the Union draft laws to the vice president, cabinet, federal governors and state governors. Later in the war, exemptions were added for convicted felons and the mentally or physically handicapped, and an occasional hardship exemption was granted.

[2]For example, Cornelius R. Hanleiter, editor of the *Gate City Guardian* in Atlanta, served as an artillery officer in South Carolina for the duration of the war. (Cornelius Redding Hanleiter Papers, Atlanta History Center. These include not only a collection of letters, but also the diary Hanleiter kept throughout his military service.) William Tappan Thompson, editor of the *Savannah Daily Morning News*, though 48 years old when the war started, (1860 U.S. Census, Schedule I (Free residents) for Chatam County, Ga.) served as an aide-de-camp to Georgia Gov. Joseph Brown for most of the war, but took up arms as Sherman approached the city in December 1864. (William Tappan Thompson scrapbook on the *Augusta Mirror* microfilm, Augusta State University). Henry Lynden Flash, who had worked for the *Mobile Register* before the war and late in the war purchased the *Macon Telegraph*, served nearly four years in the Confederate cavalry under Generals Hardee and Wheeler, seeing action at both Perryville and Chickamauga (Joel C. Harris, "Henry Lynden Flash," *The Countryman*, 14 June 1864; James Wood Davidson, "Henry Lynden Flash," *Living Writers of the South* (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1869), 184-194). John M. Daniel, editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, also served in the Confederate Army until battle injuries forced him ro retire from the field. (John M. Daniel, *The Richmond Examiner During the War: or, the Writings of John M. Daniel, with a memoir by his brother, Frederick S. Daniel* (New York, 1868), 231).

[3]Catherine Patricia Oliver, "Problems of South Carolina Editors Who Reported the Civil War," (Unpublished masrer's thesis, University of South Carolina, 1970). According to Oliver, among those who volunteered were A. Warley of the *Southerner*; W. A. Lee of the *Abbeville Press*; Shooter and Fairlee of the *Marian Star*; A. J. Rugg of the *Darlington Flag*; James Hollingsworth of the *Laurensville Herald*; James D. Nance of the *Newberry Conservatist*; W. W. East of the *Yorkville Enquirer*; W. P. Price and C. M. McJunkin of the *Southern Enterprise*; C. J. Elford, *Patriot and Mountaineer*; Durisco of the *Edgefield Advertiser*; James A. Hoyt and Humphreys of the *Andersonville Intelligencer*.

[4]Oliver, p. 39, 41. The *Charleston Evening News* and the *Due West Telescope* were among the South Carolina papers forced to shut down when all or most of its printers volunteered for military service.

[5]Other classes of occupations, such as tanners and blacksmiths, would also have lost their exemptions under Davis' proposal.

[6]This study is based on an examination of issues of 12 Southern newspapers for the months of November and December 1864. These newspapers included: the *Richmond Examiner, Richmond Dispatch, Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, Augusta Constitutionalist, Savannah Daily Morning News, Savannah Republican, Columbus Enquirer, Macon Telegraph, Athens Southern Watchman, Charleston Mercury* and *Charleston Courier*. Because newspaper exchanges were still common among Southern newspapers, articles reprinted in the above listed papers from other newspapers were also included in this study. These included rhe *Raleigh Progress, Camden* (S.C.) *Daily Journal, Montgomery* (Ala.) *Mail, Richmond Whig* and *Macon Intelligencer* (as the former Atlanta was referred to during the period it published in Macon), among others.

While this paper examines the reactions of the Southern press generally, emphasis is placed upon the reaction of Georgia newspapers. At the time of Davis' speech, Sherman's forces occupied Atlanta, and the Union general's infamous March to the Sea across the state was just about to begin (the president's speech was given on November 7, and the first of Sherman's men left Atlanta on November 14). One might expect Georgia newspapers to support any measure that could perhaps repel the occupying enemy army back from whence it came, but this was not the case.

This paper deals with rhe public writings of the editors of these newspapers. Few of these editors left personal papers behind; those personal letters, diaries and journals kept by any of these editors deal with matters other than editorial attitudes toward free speech.

[7]William Cooper, *Liberty and Slavery: Southern Politics to 1860* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1983) discusses the relationship between slavery and the southern love of liberty. While he does not deal with how this played out in journalism, it stands to reason that editors who were strongly committed to personal liberty would also be committed to liberty of the press.

[8]For example, scholars have argued alternatively that censorship was greater in the South (James G.

Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing Upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War," *Journal of Southern History* 23 (January 1918), 303-323; *Brayton Harris, Blue and Gray in Black and White* (London: Brassey's, 1999).) and that censorship in the North was greater than that of the South, but that the South engaged in more self-censorship (Quintus C. Wilson, "Voluntary Press Censorship During the Civil War," *Journalism Quarterly* 19 (1942), 251-261). Other studies have claimed that the extreme commitment to state rights and individual liberties in the South kept the Confederate press from being censored to any meaningful degree at all.(Robert Neil Mathis, "Freedom of the Press in the Confederacy: A Reality," *The Historian* 37:4 (1975), 633-649; Patricia Towery, "Censorship in South Carolina Newspapers, 1861-1865," In: James B. Meriweather, ed., *South Carolina Journals and Journalists* (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Co. Publishers, 1975, 147-160).)

[9]Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989) suggests that three social structures were important in the development of Southern nationalism: religion, via sermons; popular music; and newspapers. Of these three, she says newspapers were the least important due to low literacy rates in the South. Other authors, including J. Mills Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave State*,(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Anthony Gene Carey, *Parties, Slavery and the Union in Antebellum* Georgia (Athens: University of Georgia, 1997), and Marc Wayne Kruman, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1846-1865* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1978) deal with the press as a political agency employed by Southern elites to disseminate their views of what it meant to be a Southerner. Robert Bonner, "Americans Apart: Nationality in the Slaveholding South" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1977) deals in a more general way with the development of Southern nationalism.

[10]Bruce Catton, *Never Call Retreat* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1965), 396.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]Jacob D. Cox, *The March to the Sea, Franklin and Nashville* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons., 1882), 6.

[13]Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict In the Confederacy*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), 320.

[14] Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 52-53. According to Moore, the exemptions were designed to establish two classes of Southerners: the fighters and the producers. He says Congress created these two classes because of the needs to maintain government through the war and to preserve a healthy national life (that is, so that there was someone at home raising corn, building guns and educating children). According to the *Official Records of the Rebellion Series IV*, Vol. I, 1081, the 1862 law exempted the Confederate Congress; members of state legislatures, clerks of the offices of the state and Confederate governments; postmen; ferrymen on post routes; pilots and others engaged in river or rail transportation; telegraph operators; ministers; iron, furnace and foundry workers; printers and editors of newspapers; academics and university presidents; teachers with more than 20 students or teachers of handicapped students; hospital superintendents; nurses who work in hospitals; pharmacists; and wool and cotton factory employees.

[15]In his November 7 speech, Davis pointed out that newspapers were not distributed throughout the Confederacy according to need. Some towns might have several newspapers while others had only one or perhaps none. Consequently, Davis presented his proposal as a means of retaining essential communications media while also fleshing out the ranks of the Confederate Army. Jefferson Davis, "Speech to the Confederate Congress," November 7, 1864, OR Series IV, Vol. III (1900), 796.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]According to Moore, this was not the first time in the war when an attempt was made to remove journalists' exemption, but previous attempts had been attributed to Congress, and it had been Congress which newspapers had criticized rather than Davis. See page 66 for his discussion.

[20]Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 83.

[21]Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis: Constitutionalist. His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, (Jackson, Miss: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1923), 392.

[22] Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis: Confederate Hero* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959), 238.

[23] Letter from W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis, 26 December 1864. Jefferson Davis, 1808-1889 Collection. Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.

[24]Sallie Brock Putnam, *Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observations* (Lincoln:

University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 275, 176.

[25]Henry S. Foote, *The Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest* (St. Louis: Sould, Thomas and Wentworth, 1876), 252-255. In this book Foote gives an account of a political battle he and Davis fought in 1844 over the selection of a presidential elector from Mississippi. Davis' candidate won.

[26]Richmond *Sentinel*, 10 November 1864; *Southern Watchman*, 30 November 1864. It is doubtful that anyone took Foote's resolution setiously; according to Eaton, Foote opposed Davis on just about everything, even going so far on one occasion as to propose that Davis be deposed and Lee installed as dictator. Eventually, according to Eaton pp. 215-216, Foote was expelled from the house for his obnoxious behavior, though Foote claimed his expulsion was due to his efforts in 1865 to end the war. This claim is made in Foote's history of the Civil War, *War of the Rebellion* (New York: Harper & Bros Publishers, 1866), 346-347.

[27]*Richmond Enquirer*, 10 November 1864.

[28]*Macon Telegraph*, 18 November 1864.

[29]The lone exception was the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, a paper which had become infamous for its opposition to Davis' administration and frequent calls for a negotiated peace,

[30]*Augusta Constitutionalist*, 22 November 1864.

[31]The total is closer to 30, if one counts each of the reprinted articles singly rather than counting each day's selections as only one "compiled" story

[32]For discussions of this point, see Carey, *Parties, Slavery and the Union in Antebellum Georgia* and Mills, P*olitics and Power in a Slave Society*.

[33]A large proportion of his editorials on the topic he clipped from other Confederate papers.

[34]*Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, 12 November 1864.

[35]*Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, 25 November 1864.

[36]*Charleston Mercury*, 23 November 1864.

[37]*Macon Telegraph*, 15 November 1864.

[38]*Southern Watchman*, 6 December 1864.

[39]*Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, 23 November 1864.

[40]*Richmond Enquirer*, 9 November 1864

[41]*Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, 23 November 1864.

[42]Eaton, 13.

[43]*Macon Telegraph*, 15 November 1864.

[44]*Southern Watchman*, 16 November 1864.

[45]The animosity was so great between Brown and Davis that in Davis' history of the Civil War, he makes absolutely no mention of Brown by name, either in the text or in the index. William T. Sherman, by conttast, is mentioned on 12 occasions by name in the book. On the one occasion when a reference to Brown is made, Davis refers to him merely as "the governor of Georgia."

[46]*Southern Watchman*, 6 December 1864.

[47]*Richmond Sentinel*, 25 November 1864.

[48]*Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, 23 November 1864.

[49]*Augusta Constitutionalist*, 10 November 1864.

[50]Philip D. Dillard, "The Confederate Debate Over Arming Slaves: Views from Macon and Augusta Newspapers," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, (79):117-146. See also Davis' November 7, 1864 speech, *op cit*.

[51]Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1881), 565.

[52]Clement Eaton, *Jefferson Davis* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977).

[53]*Augusta Constitutionalist*, 7 December 1864.

[54]*Augusta Constitutionalist*, 7 December 1864.

[55]*Augusta Constitutionalist*, 7 December 1864.

[56]Richard E. Beringer, et al., *Why the South Lost the Civil War (*Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986)

James Gillespie Birney, the Revival Spirit, and *The Philanthropist*

By Cathy Rogers Franklin

Inspired by the religious revival of the Second Great Awakening, James G. Birney, a Kentucky-born Alabama planter, gradually moved away from his position as a slaveholder to that of a determined abolitionist editor in Ohio. Established in January of 1836, Birney's Philanthropist *was based as much on Biblical principles as his desire to see terrible injustices corrected and press freedom protected.*

To preach or to publish? That was the decision James G. Birney faced following the religious conversion that prompted him to free his slaves in 1834.[1] The religious revival of the Second Great Awakening spread by evangelists such as Charles Grandison Finney and Theodore Weld captured the heart and mind of the Kentucky-born Alabama planter.

Many converts impassioned by the revival spirit of the 1830s believed that faith without works is dead and busied themselves with various causes such as preserving the sanctity of the Sabbath and saving the souls of slaves. But for Birney, the sinfulness of slavery was his priority. He believed that God bestowed upon the church the responsibility to take the first step to banish the sin "not only from our own country but from the world."[2] The young Southern aristocrat and former slaveholder who was twice suspended from Princeton (once in 1809 and once in 1810, for being intoxicated) was eager to spread the gospel of abolition in the most effective way possible.

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In October 1834, with the encouragement of men such as Weld and other members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Birney decided the best means to disseminate his message and create a forum for discussion of the slavery issue would be the publication of an anti-slavery newspaper, *The Philanthropist.* Even though Weld's faith in Birney was so strong that Weld gave him "one year to abolitionize Ohio,"[3] the first edition of the paper was not issued until 15 months and several mobs later.

Birney's Attitude Toward a Free Press

While Betty Fladeland's 1955 biography of Birney considers his journalistic pursuits,[4] press historians have paid little specific attention to Birney's adamant belief in a free press, the voice of *The Philanthropist*, and its role during the early abolition movement.[5] This study examines how *The Philanthropist* translated Birney's personal conversion experience into widely felt political and social unrest. In this context, the study shows how the paper dealt with the issue of abolition during its first five months before it became the official organ of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society on May 13, 1836, and whether the content and editorial position changed once it was transferred to the Society.

Historians have stressed the importance of abolitionist newspapers in upholding the liberty of the press; however, they primarily have focused on the men who established and perpetuated them, especially radical abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison.[6] In fact, one journalism historian's careful comparison of Garrison and Alexis de Tocqueville revealed surprising similarities between the two men regarding their beliefs in the importance of participatory journalism to democracy.[7] Writers such as Silas Bent praised Birney for being moderate rather than radical like Garrison, whose "unbridled verbal violence made him more enemies than friends, and but few converts."[8] Birney was "more redoubtable than Garrison, and doubtless more influential," wrote Bent.[9]

Birney's contemporaries agreed. In the winter of 1834, Robert Rose, a large Pennsylvania landholder, conveyed his confidence in Birney's abilities to edit a paper "devoted chiefly to the subject of the slaves in the United States." In a letter to Birney he wrote, "I think that no one can do so much good in this as yourself. You write clearly, coolly, and dispassionately. Your enemies (for you will have enemies) cannot accuse you of fanaticism; and your situation, and your intimate acquaintance with the subject, give you great advantages over a northern man."[10]

Newspapers Became the Source of Political Information

For several reasons the press was a major catalyst in the fight over the slavery issue. Geographical expansion westward, improved transportation,

and mechanical improvements in the printing process helped increase newspaper circulation and decrease newspaper prices. These changes, plus the rise of a "democratic market society" sponsored by a new, urban middle class, produced the penny press of the 1830s-1840s. The newspaper became the chief source of political information.[11] For example, on January 1, 1835, there were 1,258 daily, semi-weekly, and weekly newspapers issued. In Ohio, where *The Philanthropist* was published, that number was 145 with a combined circulation of 4,914,000.[12]

Despite the increased number of newspapers, poor roads caused problems with mail delivery as did the personal opinions of Amos Kendall, who became Postmaster General in 1835. Kendall tried to limit the freedom of the press by making delivery of anti-slavery periodicals difficult. In his annual report in 1835, he suggested that President Jackson ask Congress to empower his department to refuse "giving circulation to the obnoxious papers in the southern states." Jackson recommended such a censorship as a penalty for using the mails to circulate papers in the South "intended" to instigate servile insurrection. Even though John C. Calhoun, chairman of the committee to which the proposal was referred, declared that such a measure would be unconstitutional, he proposed a bill that forbade postmasters to forward anti-slavery periodicals in any state where their circulation was forbidden by state law. The bill was ultimately defeated in the Senate by a narrow margin.[13]

Kendall was particularly critical of *The Liberator*, Garrison's radical voice that even religious leaders resented because of its vituperative nature and demand for immediate abolition. And Kendall's opinion of more conservative abolition newspapers such as *The Philanthropist* was not much higher. As early as October 1835, Birney complained the post office was "put under the censorship of the Postmaster, one of the most ignorant, unlettered and mobocratical of our citizens," and that he had not received his anti-slavery papers for a month. Once he provided his evidence and threatened a lawsuit, he began receiving his papers.[14]

Postmaster Power

Birney frequently printed his letters to Kendall expressing frustration with what he perceived to be unfair mail delivery problems. One such letter appeared in the February 26, 1836, issue in which Birney complained about a deputy postmaster in Augusta, Kentucky, who threw mailbags full of copies of his newspaper on the floor, saying, "They should not be filled up with such purpose" and who continued to detain packages "with an avowed determination" regardless of "the transportation to which they are entitled by the laws of the United States."[15] And by

June 10, a brief letter from the postmaster in Union Monroe, Virginia, explained that the "*Philanthropist* is of such character" that he cannot deliver it to the person to whom it is addressed. Furthermore, the postmaster wrote that "in this state no paper so highly tainted with abolitionism will be permitted to circulate in this County, and the person persisting in doing so, would unquestionably be Lynch'd."[16]

The postmaster general's power was only a fraction of the government's influence on the press. A survey of American journalism for the first 30 years of the 19th century shows that newspapers continued to be primarily political party organs with the chief purpose of discussing political and economic issues. The partisan press played a crucial role in the election of Andrew Jackson, and during his administration it was not uncommon for publishers to receive printing awards as a form of government subsidy.[17] Congressional proceedings, political speeches, messages of presidents and governors, and reports of various departments of government filled columns and often whole pages, sometimes to the exclusion of other reading matter and advertisements.[18] The partisan press was undeniably characterized by an emphasis on ideas rather than news or events.[19]

The newspaper in early Ohio was a potent influence among the educational forces of the time, although in the heat of party politics there was often an excessive indulgence in abusive phraseology. The papers of that day were generally issued weekly though semi-weekly publications were soon adopted in larger cities such as Columbus during the legislative sessions. The period from 1819 to 1839 "abounded in efforts to establish all sorts of periodicals, but the lives of most of them were brief and many of them tragic," according to Charles Frederick Goss.[20] Twenty-one periodicals were published in Cincinnati, including *The Philanthropist*, during those same years. The two major papers in Cincinnati were the *Gazette*, edited by Charles Hammond and established in 1806, and the *Advertiser*, edited by Moses Dawson and established in 1818. By 1825, the political status of the newspapers in Cincinnati became clear — the *Gazette* was Whig, and the *Advertiser* was Democratic.[21]

Abolitionist Newspapers Increase

While Elihu Embree published his first anti-slavery journal in 1819 and Benjamin Lundy by 1821, the number of such emancipation journals increased during the 1830s. In addition to Garrison's *Liberator*, a number of other papers devoted primarily to abolition were published by the time Birney edited *The Philanthropist*. Joshua Leavitt edited the New York City *Evangelist* from 1830 until 1837 when he was forced to sell the paper

because of delinquent subscribers. Amos Phelps was editing American Anti-Slavery Society publications such as the New York *Anti-Slavery Record*, the *Emancipator*, and *Human Rights*.

Benjamin Lundy, who began the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Ohio and moved briefly to Tennessee, was publishing the *National Enquirer* in Philadelphia from August 1836 until March 1837 when it became an Anti-Slavery Society organ for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Both papers advocated immediate abolition and were based on a motto which quoted the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Biblical passages were the slogans of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society's *The Friend of Man* and Elijah Lovejoy's *St. Louis Observer*. Lovejoy did not favor immediate abolition, but called himself an "emancipationist" because he opposed the system of slavery.[22] Lovejoy's paper was missionary in perspective while covering anti-slavery and temperance issues.

Gary Whitby's analysis of the early years of the New York *Sun* points to the significance of a "paper that catered to a large popular audience with mixed feelings about slavery." He explains that such a paper "could couch an abolitionist message in a context of dissimilar ones—thereby making any radical stance seem less extreme."[23]

The Revival Spirit and Abolition

Central to most abolitionists and abolitionist newspaper editors was a political culture associated with evangelical Protestantism.[24] Regardless of the doctrines they professed or the methods they practiced, abolitionists shared the idea that the nation could be saved from sin by the works of individuals.[25] The first widespread stirrings of agitation for the immediate emancipation of slaves in America grew out of the religious ferment generated in the course of the Second Great Awakening. The growth and spread of the religious conviction that required that faith be shown by works was at least as significant as the political changes and education efforts that favored abolition. As devotion to the common man increased, the dogmas of Calvinism lost authority. Evangelists and evangelistic pastors led the way in liberalizing Calvinistic theology and inspiring humanitarian effort.

On the other hand, the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, comprised of many members who believed in the sinfulness of slavery, explained that the earliest petitions to restrain the further importation of slaves were based on a "few powerful political leaders" and their economic self-

interest and concern for competition, rather than moral or religious concerns. According to the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, the Society of Friends was "the only sect to whom the criminality of oppression, in the form of slave-holding, appeared . . . as it is now beginning to be seen by others."[26] A later progress report on "ecclesiastical action" from the state Anti-Slavery Society pointed to support from the Friends, the Baptist churches in the east, and the Presbyterian churches, both east and west. "The Friends, extensively and ardently, as might have been anticipated from their excellent principles, lent their open sympathy and countenance to the anti-slavery cause."[27]

As the greatest revivalist of 19th century America, Charles Grandison Finney believed that religious conversion, or transformation of life, was based on the sinner who "could and should deliberately choose to be converted from the ways of sin to the ways of God." In choosing to be converted, "the individual also chose to live by a new fundamental disposition, 'disinterested benevolence,' instead of sinful selfishness."[28] Furthermore, Finney spoke strongly against slavery and told ministers that "their testimony must be given on this subject," and that "slavery is, pre-eminently, the sin of the church." He believed that a national spiritual revival would be the means to the end of slavery.[29]

The Sinfulness of Slavery

One example of Finney's preaching that directly affected James Birney was during the revival at Lane Seminary where students experienced a personal conviction of the sinfulness of slavery and were converted to the idea of abolition.[30] Birney, who had recently moved back to Kentucky from an unsuccessful stint as an Alabama planter and lawyer, met Theodore Weld, one of the converts, late in the spring of 1834. Weld, along with other students, took Birney, a slaveholder and secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, in hand and "expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly."[31] Before Birney left he confided to Weld that he was ready to abandon colonization, and headed for home persuaded that he must now declare publicly that he was an abolitionist.

When he got home, he resigned his offices in both the Colonization society and the Kentucky Society for the Gradual Relief of the State from Slavery. On the morning of June 2, he gave his first public testimony of complete conversion by presenting his slaves with the deed of emancipation.[32] He then began gathering support from churches for the anti-slavery movement, and by the end of July, he was willing to take a "stand for life for the cause of God and liberty in our country" if he could see a

"fair prospect" of providing for his family.[33] By the end of October 1834 the news came from the American Anti-Slavery Society that Birney would receive a salary and could proceed with establishing an anti-slavery newspaper.[34]

It took another year before he sold his farm and prepared to move his family to Cincinnati. Birney's wife was in poor health, and he was encouraged to lecture in the East the following spring. In the interim, Weld repeatedly encouraged Birney by promising numerous subscribers. "I cannot think my dear brother of your giving up the project of establishing an anti-slavery paper . . . . If you have not a single subscriber East of the Mountains, still your paper will be abundantly supported," Weld wrote. Such a paper edited by Birney "would give impulse uncalculable [sic] to our cause in both free and slave states," Weld promised. "The truth is that very many who are not abolitionists would subscribe for your paper."[35] A month later, Weld wrote promising at least 1,000 subscribers in Ohio alone.[36] William Bryant's encouragement extended to the power of the anti-slavery press. He wrote that "well conducted anti-slavery publications" are of "immense value to our country," and said he could name several which had been "instrumental in removing the unjust prejudice of the whites against their coloured brethren."[37]

Forced Out of Ohio

Birney had hoped to begin publication of *The Philanthropist* in Kentucky by August 1, 1835. But when he returned home from his trip to several anti-slavery meetings, he found community opinion sharply divided on his proposal to establish a paper. Discouraged by receipt of a letter[38] signed by 33 citizens expressing their regret and dread of the consequences should he proceed with his newspaper, he prepared to move to a free state. Weld already had suggested Cincinnati would be a promising place for an anti-slavery newspaper, plus it would still be close enough so that Birney's work might have some effect in Kentucky.

One of Weld's correspondents in Springfield, Ohio, wrote that public sentiment had changed so drastically that it was rare to hear someone say, "It is impossible that these fanatics can induce people to give up their prejudices." Instead, "you will hear it said . . . 'such a minister, and such an elder . . . have become abolitionists' and 'it looks as if the Presbyterian Church were becoming an Abolition Society.'"[39] Only a few months earlier, Weld was denied access to a Presbyterian church for a lecture in Circleville, Ohio, because of public criticism by a Presbyterian minister. Finally, a vestry room of the Episcopal church was procured.[40]

Birney finally gave up on his desire to establish his paper in the South. After a visit from the mayor, the city marshal and Charles Hammond, editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, during which they practically threatened Birney with the possibility of violence, the transplanted Kentuckian decided instead to establish his press at New Richmond in Clermont County, a small town 20 miles up the Ohio River from Cincinnati. By October, Birney had sold his farm, bought a home in Cincinnati and was preparing to move his family there.[41]

Birney estimated the expense of a sufficient office and printing of the weekly paper for one year to 2,000 subscribers to be $3,000. He predicted that the "aid of the subscription of the executive committee [of the American Anti-Slavery Society], Mr. G[errit] S[mith]" would be manageable. "Say 1,200 other subscribers can be had, and I have now about half that number, with the promise of a large number more, and the establishment can be sustained without much loss." Depending on the success of the paper, Birney envisioned that after one year, "it may be given up altogether, or at least by me, on the ground that we can have access to other papers."[42] Birney previously had failed in his attempts to gain access to other newspapers. For example, Charles Hammond at the *Cincinnati Gazette* had denied two of his articles because "they were altogether too inflammable." He refused Hammond's suggestion to "write a series of pieces, beginning a long way back, and laying my premises so artfully that nobody can see what I am at." Birney explained that such a series would be a "waste of time."[43]

Establishing *The Philanthropist*

In the first edition of *The Philanthropist*, published on Jan. 1, 1836, Birney explained that he issued his paper at New Richmond because he had been assured "very politely by official gentlemen" that such a paper in Cincinnati would produce an "explosion of mobocratic elements more violent and destructive than had been known before."[44] Birney already had agreed to move publication once before — across the state line from Kentucky to Ohio to appease his opponents. His willingness to move his press upriver to New Richmond to keep peace, even though he doubted the opinions of the "official gentlemen" in Cincinnati, reflected the influence of his Quaker friends.[45] "So desirous were we of peace . . . that we determined . . . with great inconvenience, and at no small additional expense, to establish the press at some other point where investigation would rather be welcomed than repelled."[46]

In this first edition of *The Philanthropist,* Birney outlined his purpose — to present facts and arguments on the subject of slavery as connected with emancipation. Instead of the harsh, reproaching language of Garrison's *Liberator*, Birney's newspaper invited discussion on both sides of the slavery question. In fact, included on the flag beneath the name of the newspaper was the phrase, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us," and therein indicated Birney's belief that both the North and the South were responsible for slavery and that both sides should help solve the problem. He invited discussion from the southern states. In fact, he wrote that he was willing "to accept [contributions] from any quarter that will furnish it," and in two separate articles, he offered to the South "the free use of our columns, to defend a system which they seem determined to continue."[47]

The article in which the first offer to southerners was couched was titled "Vindication of Abolition." In the article, Birney answered the accusations presented in the resolutions of a meeting in Athens, Alabama, which had been sent to him:

> I will stop only long enough to remind you . . . of the unjust impression you have attempted to make . . . by associating me . . . with 'gamblers, blacklegs, and suspicious persons' . . . . I will not . . . seek to justify the use of violent and denunciatory language. In you, the first use of such language is unbecoming. For me to use it . . . would be wholly inexcusable.[48]

Most of Birney's "Vindication" was undeniably religious and preachy in tone, drawing on Biblical depictions of the "spirit of John" and the "days of Paul." Birney tackled the first objection of those who opposed his newspaper, that such publications are "designed . . . to excite the slaves to insurrection against their masters." As he explained "in all soberness and Christian charity" the "total improbability of such a design," Birney stated that his publication "is opposed to violence and war, even for the attainment of right." As he continued to justify his reasons for choosing a newspaper as his method to disperse his abolition message, Birney referred to ideas such as "religious inprovement" and repeatedly used Biblical language. He called for participation in the discussion of slavery:

> Come, then, and like men, gird yourselves for the contest, and let it be one of reason and of mind — not of passion and abuse . . . . I invite you without cost, to the use of the *Philanthropist.* Through its columns your voice may be raised, and your arguments carried to the remotest corner of the land.[49]

Spiritual and Political Benefits

Birney's plea for immediate abolition demanded an obvious revolution in lifestyle — the emancipation of slaves. Although his desire for peaceable change now can be seen as naive, it was likely the result of the influence of the Society of Friends. In fact, earlier in his long article addressing objections of his opponents, Birney mentioned the "large and growing number" of abolitionists, "by no means confined to the *Friends*—who have embraced . . . peace principles" which "deny to nations the right of making war . . . and to individuals the right of assaulting others in any case . . . These, they say, are the principles of the gospel."[50]

After almost a full page of talk about spiritual benefits of immediate abolition, the almost 44-year-old editor slid into a discussion of the political benefits and "their connection with the great principles of our government and the cause of universal freedom." After that transition, Birney made little reference to religion as he discussed the importance of freedom of speech and of the press.

The religious language disappeared in the second article of the first edition, which also clarified the purpose of the paper, explained the method of delivery and subscriptions, and solicited articles for the "Slaveholder's Department" and the "Dough-Face Department." Instead, Birney called for a more general "pursuit of truth," the truth being that "Liberty and Slavery cannot, both, live long in juxtaposition." He again reminded readers of the Constitutional rights of freedom of speech and of the press, and overall presented an appeal for humanitarianism, that "the free States must, for their own sakes, have the subject of slavery discussed anew . . . they must be brought to see its almost universal effects on the character of the offspring and family of the slaveholder, and on the slaveholder himself."[51]

The first issue also announced the policy to distribute the first four editions of *The Philanthropist* to several of the principal journals in the slave states, and continuing such distribution if those newspapers are not sent in exchange.[52] In issue number seven, February 12, 1836, Birney wrote that such distribution "disarmed the rage of all slaveholding editors to whom our paper has been sent — except the *Western Methodist* in Nashville.[53]

Despite letters from Weld and other abolitionists promising numerous subscribers, no sooner than the first issue was distributed, Birney became uncertain about his ability to sustain the publication financially. He anticipated the loss for one year's publication would not exceed

$1,500, a loss he seemed willing to bear. However, he asked Lewis Tappan of the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to inform him immediately if any of "our friends who have contributed to the deposits made for me be unable, or feel reluctant, to continue their contribution." Without additional financial support, Birney wrote that he would have to resume his practice of law and "retire to some little spot in the country" where he could devote himself to educating his children.[54]

Organized Opposition

After only two editions of Birney's newspaper, a meeting of "500 or 600" citizens was organized by some of the city's most prominent citizens at the suggestion of the *Cincinnati Whig*. They met on January 22 in a courtroom at the courthouse to bring the "full weight" of public opinion against the pamphlet campaign, the forming of abolition societies, and the establishment of Birney's press at New Richmond.[55] From February 19, 1836, to April 22, 1836, Birney ran a series of articles calling for a "candid, yet strict, examination" of the resolutions passed at the meeting.[56] Resolution by resolution, Birney expressed his opposition in his editorial columns. In the March 4 issue, Birney suggested that freedom of speech and of the press are God-given rights, "The right to publish opinions — of which speaking, writing, and printing, are but modes — is a natural right — derived from our Creator — belonging to us as men — of which no human authority can justly deprive us."[57]

Birney dealt with the resolution that the "tendency of abolition societies and the conduct of certain persons connected with them, are at variance with the federal compact . . . and ought to be discountenanced by all good and patriotic causes" in his March 18 issue. He asked, is it against the federal compact "to write and print on any subject — to persuade their neighbors to cease from a cruelty that makes present millions mourn — that menaces their own liberty and happiness, and the liberty and happiness of their children"?[58]

Evangelistic Tone

Even in the discussion of this constitutional issue, the syntax and rhythm of Birney's entreaty seemed to be that of an evangelist pleading for revival:

> We desire a reformation — a revolution . . . in public sentiment. We desire to see this nation . . . as one man, hating

> iniquity and loving justice; healing the stripes and wounds of our poor brethren left wounded and half dead, by pouring in the oil and wine of love and gladness . . . .
>
> This is our revolution: from wrong to righteousness—from cruelty to mercy — from iniquity to justice — from pollution to purity — from the deadness of despair to the animation of hope — from the shriek of agony to the exclamations of joy — from tears of blood to tears of thanksgiving — from the gloom and alienation and perdition of sin, to the delights and harmony and salvation of penitence . . .
>
> This is our revolution — and one which, if the power of God's truth fail not . . . we will accomplish.[59]

As for the effect of abolition on revivalism, Birney was adamant that the anti-slavery discussion did not stop revivals. "If stopped at all, it is by that temper in the church which converts discussion into agitation. The doctrines of Justice, and Freedom, and Mercy, would never agitate, unless met by the spirit of Oppression," he explained in his article titled "Abolition and Revivals" in the Jan. 29 issue of *The Philanthropist.* However, while agitation was not his goal, he admitted that "as long as the righteousness of freedom is opposed by the unrighteousness of slavery, there will, there must be, agitation," and that as soon as "error [unrighteousness of slavery] is vanquished, the agitation will cease."[60] Moreover, for a church to experience revival, Birney wrote that it must settle the question of slavery on the side of righteousness. "It must become an anti-oppression church, regardless of the form in which oppression may show itself, of the power of the oppressor, or of the daunts of his allies."[61]

The first item on page one of the February 5 issue illustrated the variety of religious coverage that Birney sought. An excerpted essay from the late Jonathan Dymond of the Society of Friends further espoused the sinfulness of slavery.[62] In two April issues, *The Philanthropist* carried correspondence from the Society of Friends about slavery in the District of Columbia, particularly their petition for abolition.[63]

Even though issues regarding abolition and emancipation consumed *The Philanthropist*, Birney's paper reflected the news of the day. Whether he reprinted articles regarding insurrection in Texas or reprints from a Lexington newspaper regarding the difficulties of cotton farmers, a subscriber gained enough information to understand slavery or anti-slavery implications of the important issues of the 1830s. Abolitionists and slaveholders alike faced the problems and opportunities in the

country resulting from the industrialization of the North, the cotton boom of the South, and the expansion of the Southwest territory.

Reprints of vicious anti-abolition articles were peppered consistently throughout almost every issue of *The Philanthropist*, and at the same time, a variety of letters to the editor reflected the growth of the abolition movement and increase in subscription orders. The April 8 announcement of the upcoming anniversary meeting of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society mentioned the growth of the movement as it predicted that meeting would be "the turning point of abolitionism in this state." The cause of abolition "is formed in truth, and as God has promised to the truth its triumph, — its consummation will be speedy and glorious."[64]

One letter from a slave state praised *The Philanthropist* despite the fact that the writer often disagreed with the editor. "It is read here by a considerable number who are opposed to its sentiments, and who would fain [sic] find all possible fault. But even they admit that it is decorously conducted."[65] Another writer from Pike County, Ohio, bragged about how well liked the paper was and the increased number of abolitionists from one a year before in his county to "10 or 12, firm — and some 8 or 10 more, who are beginning to think favorably of abolition."[66] Garrison read *The Philanthropist* with "eagerness, delight, and to great edification" and praised Birney's approach, "Whatever is admirable in moral courage, or impressive in dignity, or commendable in magnanimity, or attractive in modest worth, or excellent in Christian urbanity, or serviceable in intellectual ability, is seen in the manner in which you have thus far conducted your paper."[67]

The Philanthropist As Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society Organ

The May 13, 1836, issue of *The Philanthropist* announced its new status as the official organ of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society:[68]

> *The Philanthropist* is no longer to be regarded as an individual concern — as speaking the sentiments of its projector alone — or as ushering forth only his own views — but as the vehicle of communication by which 10,000 of our fellow citizens speak to their countrymen; pleading with them to come to the rescue of our free institutions — to save from destruction the freedom of speech, the liberty of the press — and to re-establish now, on immovable ground, the fundamental principles of our own and of all just government, that 'all men are created equal' and have a right that is unalienable to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'[69]

Birney went on to admonish his abolitionist readers to help increase the circulation of *The Philanthropist*. Still, his optimism about converts to abolitionism was clear. He wrote that those who have been indecisive "are fast coming over to the side of free principles — and even the bitterest adversaries are beginning to acknowledge that our cause . . . is destined to have free course." Birney appealed to the "working men," the "thinking men," and to the "aristocracy in church or state" to heed the truth. "They must fall before it. The foamings of despotism must be converted into the rivers of peace."[70]

Birney pursued a campaign to enlist churches in the fight against slavery in meetings with church leaders and through *The Philanthropist*. Despite the opposition of the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church against Birney's attendance at the conference and the informal censure against his report on the meeting, he was encouraged by the prospects in Cincinnati. There had been no violent demonstrations against his press, and the number of subscribers had more than doubled in the first six months of publication.[71]

Despite the transfer of *The Philanthropist* to the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, the subscription and ad rate remained the same,[72] but Birney was no longer editor and sole proprietor. Achilles Pugh was the printer, and Augustus Wattles was listed as business manager. While the Slave Holder and Dough Face departments continued, the placement of such articles and headlines were less prominent than before. Listings of pledges from the anniversary meeting of the Society began to occupy half a column of the newspaper to encourage members to pay their pledges to support their activities, including publication of the paper; however, it is interesting to note that the appeal for pledges to be paid were in the name of "Human Rights" rather than in the name of God or the church.[73] Proceedings from pro-slavery and abolition meetings continued to be printed as well as sermons and church proceedings beneath headlines "Pro-Slavery Ecclesiastes" and "Anti-Slavery Ecclesiastes."

Beginning with the May 20 issue of *The Philanthropist*, the second number as an organ of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, little editorial comment is present. It is unclear whether the decision was deliberate or a result of the long report of proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the May 20 issue, and a continuation of such report in the next week's issue. However, the fact that the number of impressions created by the monthly publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society seems to indicate a greater interest in the newspaper's management and the impact it creates.[74] Clearly, by the June 24 issue, editorial comment, especially by Birney, is rare.

It also should be noted that once the paper became an organ of the Society, advertisements appeared which listed books and pamphlets for

sale at the Anti-Slavery Depository in Cincinnati. Nine books and six pamphlets were listed in one of the first such ads. Within five more issues, on July 15, the list of 20 bound volumes, 44 pamphlets, and 10 engravings occupied almost an entire column.[75]

Violence Against *The Philanthropist*

Violence against *The Philanthropist* did not come until July. Twenty-eight issues had been published since the paper's first issue of January 1. Without warning, on the night of July 12, 1836, about 20 men met in front of the office of Birney's printer, Achilles Pugh. The leaders, who were prominent and wealthy citizens, left their confederates as sentries, entered the building through a window on the roof, tore up the forthcoming issue of *The Philanthropist*, took the press apart, and carried its smaller parts away. They posted a city guard who observed the affair, which took about two hours, but who purposely made no effort to arrest the vandals.[76]

The next day a handbill appeared bearing the following suggestions:

> "The destruction of the [abolitionist's] Press on the night of the 12th instant, may be taken as a warning . . . . If an attempt is made to re-establish their press, it will be viewed as an act of defiance to an already outraged community, and on their own heads be the results which follow."[77]

The handbill, however, failed to intimidate the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society. They resolved to continue publication. Pugh received a guarantee of $2,000 from the abolitionists, quickly repaired his press, which suffered $150 damages, and thus resumed printing after only a slight delay. And on July 15, three days after the wreckage, *The Philanthropist* again hit the streets. The paper reported the incident:

> A band of 15 or 20 depredators, with the aid of a ladder and a plank, sealed the premises of Mr. Pugh, the Printer of this journal, at midnight. They made their way, some six or eight of them, through a window on the roof, and descended into an office where Mr. Pugh kept one of his printing presses . . . . The depredators next proceeded to take the press to pieces — carrying away the smaller parts of it . . . . There was also in the office the blank paper prepared for the present number of this journal. The paper was taken to an adjoining lot, and then chiefly torn up, and besmeared with the contents of a keg of ink found in the office.[78]

Birney also claimed that some of the vandals were from Kentucky, and that the wreckers had acted on orders from Southerners.

The persistence of the abolitionists led some anti-abolitionists to call for more drastic measures. On Sunday, July 17, a handbill appeared on street corners. Signed "OLD KENTUCKY," it offered a $100 reward for Birney, "a fugitive of justice," who in "all his associations and feelings is black." That week, more insidious letters were printed in the *Whig* and the *Republican*. In this context, the call went out for a public meeting at the Lower Market House on July 23 to decide whether Cincinnatians "will permit the publication or distribution of Abolition papers in this city." About 1,000 citizens attended. The resolutions warned that "nothing short of the absolute discontinuance" of *The Philanthropist* could "prevent a resort to violence." Chairman William Burke then appointed a committee to inform the abolitionists of the "tone of public feeling in the city" and to warn them that if they persisted in the publication of their paper, the citizens at the meeting could not hold themselves responsible for the consequences.[79]

The July 22, 1836, issue of *The Philanthropist* printed a letter from the executive committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society to "fellow citizens" about the July 12 attack on Pugh's press. The letter, which estimated the number of subscribers as "more than 100 of the citizens of Cincinnati, and more than 1000 of the freemen of Ohio," described the attack and subsequent posting of placards, handbills and threats of personal violence.[80]

After a week of negotiating, the committee publicly stated on July 30 that they had failed. The abolitionists refused to yield. That evening at six o'clock, the mob organized. The leaders included the same men who had wrecked Pugh's press earlier in the month. A committee was formed to locate the residences of prominent abolitionists. Then, after adopting "Santa Anna" as their watchword, and agreeing to "proceed peaceably, orderly and quietly to destroy the press," the mob adjourned.[81] Later that night, the mob assembled on the corner of Seventh and Main where Pugh's press was located. After a short consultation, the mob broke into his shop, scattered the type into the streets, tore down the presses, and dismantled the office. The rioters proceeded to Pugh's home to search for additional supplies of ink and paper. Finding nothing, they eventually made their way to Birney's home, where the mob found only his young son. After they left and mobbed other homes, they returned to Pugh's office and dragged the presses down the street and into the river.[82]

As so often happened in such instances, the mob could have helped, rather than hindered, the cause it loathed. At least, Birney thought so. Earlier in the spring, when he had predicted that his press might be

mobbed, he wrote, "Let them mob it — as sure as they do, it will instantly make throughout this State five abolitionists to one that we now have."[83] Anti-slavery books and other publications which had been pitched out of windows were carried away and read. Several families were converted to abolitionism, and many people, such as *Gazette* editor Charles Hammond, who were not converted, were ready to support the abolitionists in their fight for the preservation of freedom of the press. Birney wrote that the action of the mob had won people to the cause by the thousands where only tens had been added before.[84]

Publication was resumed, and the growing success of the paper, in terms of subscriptions and advertising, enabled Birney to bring in Gamaliel Bailey as his assistant and to train him for the editorship, thus giving Birney more time for lecturing. Letters came from all over the country cheering him on and urging a firm stand.[85]

Birney's Belief in Moral Reform

The preponderance of evidence indicates that Birney's gradual move away from slaveholder to a determined abolitionist editor and staunch supporter of immediate abolition must be attributed to his belief in moral reform. It should be noted, however, that Birney's moral consciousness was marked, if to a small degree, by an economic concern for his family. Indeed, he was convinced of the sin of slavery, not only that the slaves should be emancipated, but that racial prejudice with its products of colonization and oppressive legislation in the North should be abolished as unworthy of a Christian nation founded upon principles of liberty, equality, and justice for all men.

When, as a young man, he converted to the Presbyterian church from the Episcopalian background his father provided, Birney was moved by a revivalist spirit, but his decision was based on more than that. Determination to do something about his religious beliefs was evident in his pursuit of educating and emancipating blacks and insisting on freedom of the press. Despite the criticism Birney received, and the mob violence, he seldom became incensed to the point of being irrational or abusive like Garrison did. His belief in the freedom of the press was just as strong as his belief in the sins of slavery. Yet, his moderation and unwillingness to react violently to his adversaries strongly suggests Birney was not self-righteous in his efforts, but rather that he simply wanted to persuade the immoral to be moral.

While Birney's paper was not as evangelical as the New York City *Evangelist* or as didactic as *The Friend of Man* or the *St. Louis Observer*, the columns of *The Philanthropist* certainly reflected the fact that his call for immediate abolition was based as much on Biblical principles as his desire

to see terrible injustices corrected. Consistently he was praised for his moderate, mild, calm, cool, Christian-like course. Only one post script to one letter indicated otherwise. In a supportive letter dated April 30, 1836, John Jones added that he had just been handed a recent issue of *The Philanthropist* by a "(professed) friend of Immediatism" who remarked that "Mr. Birney is departing very fast from his professed principle of mildness and peace; he is slapping away at everybody, and pouncing down upon every editor of a newspaper, who does not exactly accord with him in sentiment."[86]

Even so, *The Philanthropist* led directly to personal and political action, particularly in the first four or five months before the paper was transferred to the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. Eventually, Birney pursued his interest as a leader of the independent Liberty Party, which between 1840 and 1845 had but a single principle: hostility to slavery. The party's platform was grounded in Birney's character and reputation, his inflexible hostility to slavery in all of its aspects, and his Christian piety. These were the same characteristics that finally converted *The Philanthropist* from its status as an idea in the mind of a transformed slaveholder to a vibrant published voice against the sins of slavery and in favor of freedom of the press.

Endnotes

[1]Letter, Theodore Weld to James G. Birney, 19 June 1834, in Dumond, Dwight L., ed., *Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857, Vol. 1* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), 121.

[2]*The Philanthropist*, 1 January 1836, 2.

3Weld to Birney, 20 October 1834, in Dumond, *Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857, Vol. 1*, 145.

[4]Betty Fladeland, *James Gillespie Birney: Slaveholder to Abolitionist* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1955).

[5]Referring to Birney as "one of the more reasonable abolitionists," Edwin Emery and Michael Emery devote only one paragraph to Birney's fight for a free press and to free slaves. See Emery and Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 179.

[6]Thomas, John L. *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison, a Biography* (Boston: Little Brown, 1963); Merrill, Walter M. *Against Wind and Tide: A Biography of William Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); Kraditor, Aileen S. *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850* (New York: Random House, 1967); and Nye, Russell Blaine. *William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1955).

[7]Nord, David Paul, "Tocqueville, Garrison and the Perfection of Journalism," *Journalism History*, 13:2 (Summer 1986), 56-63.

[8]Bent, Silas. *Newspaper Crusaders: A Neglected Story* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1939), 125-126.

[9]Ibid., 128.

[10]Letter from Robert H. Rose to Birney, 13 December 1834 in Dumond, *Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857, Vol. 1*, 156.

[11]For a well-documented review of journalism history of the early years of the nineteenth century, see chapter 9, "Changes in Journalism, 1800-1833," in Humphrey, Carol Sue, *The Press of the Young Republic*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996). For a discussion of the penny press, see

Schudson, Michael, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 14-31. Covering the span of the entire century is Hazel Dicken-Garcia's *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

[12]Hudson, Frederick. *Journalism in the United States, from 1690-1872* (New York: Harper and Row, 1873), 270.

[13]Eaton, Clement. "Freedom of the Press in the Upper South," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 18 (1931-1932) , 479.

[14]Birney to Joseph Healy, 2 October 1835, in *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 250.

[15]*The Philanthropist*, 26 February 1836, 3.

[16]*The Philanthropist*, 10 June 1836, 3. For more about the press and the role of postal service and policy, see Kielbowicz, Richard, "Modernization, Communication Policy and the Geopolitics of News," *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 3 (1986); and his 1989 volume, *News in the Mail: The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700-1860s* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989.) Wallace B. Eberhard reviews the origins of postal policy regarding the press in "Press and Post Office in Eighteenth-Century America: Origins of a Public Policy," in Bond, Donovan H. and McLeod, W. Reynolds, eds., *Colonial Newsletters to Newspapers: 18th Century Journalism* (Morgantown, W. Va.: School of Journalism, West Virginia University), 1977.

[17]For a thorough analysis of the patronage system, see Smith, Culver H., *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789-1875* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1977).

[18]Bleyer, Willard Grosvenor. *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972), 152.

[19]Jeff Rutenbeck examines the reaction of partisan papers to the 30 July 1836 riot against Birney's press and the 7 November 1837, shooting death of abolitionist Elijah P. Lovejoy. Similar to Dicken-Garcia, Rutenbeck concludes that the partisan papers stressed ideas over news. He asserts that "partisan newspapers during this period made very few attempts to be impartial." See Rutenbeck, "Partisan Press Coverage of Anti-Abolitionist Violence: A Study of Early Nineteenth-Century 'Viewsflow'," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 19:1 (Spring 1995), 126-141.

[20]Goss, Charles Frederick. *Cincinnati, The Queen City: An Interpretation, 1788-1912, Vol. I* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912).

[21]Hudson, 196.

[22]For a compilation of anecdotal profiles of newspaper editors, see Daniels, Jonathan, *They Will Be Heard: America's Crusading Newspaper Editors*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965). Also, see Goodheart, Lawrence B. *Abolitionist, Actuary, Atheist: Elizur Wright and the Reform Impulse* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), 74-75; Davis, Hugh. *Joshua Leavitt: Evangelical Abolitionist*, (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1990), 68-69, 130; Lovejoy, Joseph C. and Owen, *Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy* (New York: John S. Taylor, 1838); Dillon, Merton Lynn. *Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961); and Simon, Paul. *Freedom's Champion—Elijah Lovejoy* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994). For a review of the antebellum black press, see Bryan, Carter R.,"Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation," *Journalism Monographs*, 12 (September 1969).

[23]Whitby, Gary L., "Horns of a Dilemma: The *Sun*, Abolition, and the 1833-34 New York Riots," *Journalism Quarterly*, 67:2 (Summer 1990), 410.

[24]Literature on evangelical revivalism and its contributions to nineteenth-century reform is vast. See, for example, Carwardine, Richard J., *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebelllum America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the 19th-Century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 11-97; and Howe, Daniel Walker, "The Evangelical Movement and Political Culture in the North during the Second Party System," *Journal of American History*, 78 (March 1991), 1216-1239; and Mathews, Donald G., "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830," *American Quarterly*, 21 (Spring 1969), 23-43.

[25]Literature on abolitionism is vast. Two useful overviews are Walters, Ronald G., *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); and Dillon, Merton L., *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1979). See also Harrold, Stanley, *The Abolitionists and the South 1831-1861* (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Friedman, Lawrence J. *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1879* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982); Aptheker, Herbert.

Abolitionism: A Revolutionary Movement. (Boston: Twayne, 1989); Gerteis, Louis. *Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform* (Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1987); McKivigan. John R. *The War Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1984); and Walker, Peter. *Moral Choices: Memory, Desire, and Imagination in Nineteenth-Century American Abolitionism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Sate University Press, 1978). A useful bibliographic essay is Friedman, "'Historical Topics Sometimes Run Dry': The State of Abolitionist Studies," *The Historian*, 43 (February 1981), 177-94.

[26]Ibid., 4.

[27]"Report of the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, 1836-37," *Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention*, 1837, 25.

[28]Hewitt, Glenn A. *Regeneration and Morality: A Study of Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, John W. Nevin, and Horace Bushnell* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, 1991), 24-25.

[29]Finney, Charles Grandison. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (New York: Leavitt, Lord, 1836), 9.

[30]Lyman, H., "Lane Seminary Rebels," in Ballantine, W. G., ed., *The Oberlin Jubilee, 1833-1883* (Oberlin, Ohio: E.J. Goodrich, 1883), 63. See also Lesick, Lawrence Thomas, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980).

[31]Ibid., 63.

[32]Birney, William. *James G. Birney and His Times*, (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1969 [1890]), 139.

[33]Birney to Weld, in Barnes, Gilbert H. and Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844* (Gloucester, Mass.: American Historical Association), 1934), 161.

[34]Weld to Birney, 20 October 1834, in *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 145.

[35]Weld to Birney, 16 February 1835, in *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 180-181.

[36]H.C. Howells and Weld to Birney, 26 March 1835, in *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 192.

[37]William Bryant to Birney, 6 July 1835, *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 196.

[38]F.T. Taylor and others to Birney, 12 July 1835, *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 197-200.

[39]Samuel Galloway to Weld, 9 August 1835, in *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844*, 228.

[40]Weld to Elizur Wright, 2 March 1835, in *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844*, 206.

[41]Birney to Healy, 2 October 1835, in *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 249-251.

[42]Birney to Lewis Tappan, 10 December 1835, Papers of Lewis Tappan, containet 2, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University. See also *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 280.

[43]Birney to Tappan, 28 November 1835, Papers of Lewis Tappan, containter 2. See also *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 276.

[44]*The Philanthropist*, 1 January 1836, 3.

45Fladeland reports that Birney became friends with two Quakers when he was studying law in Philadelphia with Alexander James Dallas in 1810. One friend was James Forten, a sailmaker who was active in antislavery work, was born a free Negro, and had been educated at the school of the Quaker abolitionist Anthony Benezet. The other was Abraham L. Pennock, an anti-slavery Quaker merchant who was one of the founders of Haverford College and was later editor of *The Non-Slaveholder*. See Fladeland, 12. For a thorough, well-documented history of Quakers and the slavery issue during the late 1700s, see Soderlund, Jean R., *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[46]*The Philanthropist*, 1 January 1836, 3.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., 2.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., 3.

[52]Ibid.

[53]*The Philanthropist*, 12 February 1836, 3.

[54]Birney to Tappan, 7 January 1836, Papers of Lewis Tappan, container 2. See also *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 296-297.

[55]All the major Cincinnati papers reported the meeting, 22-25 January 1836. The most violent account appeared in the *Whig*, and a moderate account appeared in the Cincinnati *Gazette*. See *The Philanthropist*, January 29, 1836, for a complete account of the meeting.

[56]*The Philanthropist*, 19 February 1836, 1.

[57]*The Philanthropist*, 4 March 1836, 2.

[58]*The Philanthropist*, 18 March 1836, 2.

[59]Ibid.

[60]*The Philanthropist*, 29 January 1836, 3.

[61]Ibid., 32.

[62]*The Philanthropist*, 5 February 1836, 1.

[63]See *The Philanthropist*, 15 April 1836, 3, and 29 April 1836, 1.

[64]*The Philanthropist*, 8 April 1936, 3.

[65]*The Philanthropist*, 15 April 1836, 3.

[66]Ibid.

[67]William Garrison to Birney, 6 April 1836, in Ruchames, Louis, ed., *The Letters of William Garrison, Vol. 2, 1836-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 67.

[68]Birney to Tappan, 4 July 1836, Papers of Lewis Tappan, container 2. See also *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 334-335.

[69]*The Philanthropist*, 13 May 1836, 3.

[70]Ibid.

[71]See list of subscriptions and pledges, *The Philanthropist*, 1 July 1836, 4.

[72]The subscription rate was $2 per issue, and the ad rate was $1 for three insertions of "one square of a space of equal length and breadth."

[73]*The Philanthropist*, 24 June 1836, 3.

[74]For example, the report of monthly publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society is measured as follows: About 20,000 issues of *Human Rights* were printed with an estimated "reach" or "impressions" of 240,000. The total number of impressions of all monthly and quarterly publications, sound volumes, occasional pamphlets, and circulars equaled 1,095,500. See *The Philanthropist*, 3 June 1836, 1.

[75]*The Philanthropist*, 15 July 1836, 4.

[76]*The Philanthropist*, 15 July 1836.

[77]Handbill reproduced in *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio Bulletin*, 9(October 1951), 258. The handbill text also was reprinted in the July 15 issue of *The Philanthropist*, immediately following the report of the attack.

[78]*The Philanthropist*, 15 July 1836.

[79]*Narrative of the Late Riotous Proceedings Against the Liberty of the Press in Cincinnati*, 16.

[80]*The Philanthropist*, 22 July 1836.

[81]The official report of the meeting appeared in the *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix*, 27 July 1836.

[82]Birney, 246-247.

[83]Birney to Tappan, 17 March 1836, Papers of Lewis Tappan, container 2. See also *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 311.

[84]*The Philanthropist*, 23 September 1836; American Anti-Slavery Society, *Fourth Annual Report* (New York, 1837), 82-87.

[85]Harrold, Stanley. *Gamaliel Bailey and Antislavery Union* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1986), 18.

[86]John Jones to Birney, 30 April 1836, *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 322-323.

Courageous Performance: Examining Standards of Courage Among Small Town Investigative Reporters in the 1950s and 1960s

By Stephen A. Banning

While journalistic courage is often depicted in journalism history books, little research has been done to study the attributes of journalistic courage, and how journalists themselves define journalistic courage. This study examines the first decade (1956-1966) of Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award winners. The Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award was given for journalistic courage and was awarded by the International Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors. This study indicates journalists who took a stand and incurred personal loss defined courage, even though the stands taken were sometimes controversial and the journalists themselves were not entirely pure.

This research will focus on the values of news people by concentrating on people's actions rather than strictly on the content of their product, attempting to answer the question, "How did some journalists characterize courage during the late 1950s and 1960s?" Characteristics of courage may change with each generation or from region to region. Therefore, attempting to understand how journalists in a particular time period defined courage may shed light on their motivations and philosophies.

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This article examines information relating to the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Awards given for courage in journalism. The award was named after an abolitionist editor who was killed for publishing his beliefs,[1] and was given out by the International Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors (hereafter ICWNE), an organization of grassroots editors.[2] The sample period used in this research was the first decade of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Awards 1956-1966. The primary source for this research was the ICWNE files for the contest, currently housed at the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale library archives.[3]

The Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award can be distinguished from most awards given in journalism in that it encompassed an aspect of character as achievement. It was not given for writing, design, or technical merit, and was akin to the lifelong achievement awards given by some associations. Thus, studying the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Awards may provide unique insights about the standards of character in journalism.

Small Town Editors Challenged to be Watchdogs

The premiere issue of the *Grassroots Editor*, the ICWNE journal, came out in 1960 and contained several articles pertinent to this study (including articles on pre-1960 Lovejoy Award winners). One article specifically presents a definition of a grassroots editor. The article, by Houston Waring, then editor of the Littleton, Colorado, *Independent*, is called "What is a grassroots editor?" In it, Waring states, "What makes him qualify for the title [of grassroots editor] is his nearness to the people."[4] The grassroots editor was also perceived as being independent, and thus able to be a true investigative watchdog.[5] Editor Paul Gerhard, then Chairman of the University of Wichita Journalism Department, echoes this bias for grassroots editors in another article, stating, "The editorial courage required to right a local wrong is inversely proportional to the size of the community in which the wrong is to be righted."[6]

This is strong talk.[7] Those familiar with press club rhetoric are aware that bravado is common. The question posed by this research is whether the editors themselves embraced this definition of the grassroots editor as a courageous journalist. Did the editors in fact "rock the boat"? Before recent urbanization, grassroots editors were the main source of Americans' news,[8] and while they have been given some credit for having a great impact on society,[9] others, such as Ben Bagdikian in *The Effete Conspiracy*, disagree with this viewpoint.[10] In light of this lack of research into the role of grassroots editors, this article is an attempt to help fill the void regarding their contributions.

Webster's Collegiate Dictionary describes courage as "the mental or moral strength to venture, persevere, and withstand danger, fear, or difficulty."[11] A military definition of courage may be seen in the criteria for receiving the Purple Heart which stipulates that the award is given to someone who has been seriously wounded or killed in action while under attack. Specifically, the guidelines note: "The key issue that commanders must take into consideration is the degree to which the enemy caused the injury."[12]

While the subject of courageous journalism has not been specifically examined in traditional journalism histories, it is implied. For instance, Emery and Emery do not label journalists as courageous *per se*, but *The Press and America* includes a number of stories about people who showed moral strength and withstood danger, fear and difficulty, ranging from James Franklin to John Peter Zenger.[13] Other traditional histories are similar, spotlighting some journalists who might be considered courageous, but not distinguishing what criteria makes up a courageous journalist.[14]

In explaining the specific criteria for the Lovejoy Award, Howard Rusk Long[15] states:

> The recipient of this award will be a weekly newspaper editor in the United States selected for outstanding editorial service . . . involving courageous performance with duty in the face of economic, political, or social pressures brought against him by members of his own community.[16]

This stresses the concept of hardship as a prime component of courage. The criteria also included the concept of responsibility. Long states: "The purpose is to encourage outspoken, but responsible participation in local issues and controversies."[17]

Defining Journalistic Courage

In examining the ICWNE definition of courage, this study will examine the following questions: Does courage in journalism necessitate an understanding of the risks ahead of time? Specifically, in the context of this study the question becomes: Did the awards tend to go more to those who understood the risks ahead of time, or to those who may have ventured forth without understanding the consequences?

Other questions this study will examine are as follows:

- Did journalistic courage require actual harm to the journalist, or just the prospect of harm?
- Must the courageous action be in the public interest?
- Must the individual performing the courageous action be doing it out of pure motives?
- Must the action have positive results?
- Must a courageous action be sensational? and
- Were there common patterns or themes that emerged over time?

A qualitative approach is used in this study rather than a content analysis because of the nature of the source material and the nature of the research questions. The source material consists of many kinds of information, making the creation of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories and a consistent system of measurement problematic.

Two similar studies on journalism contests have been done in the past. David Altheide's 1978 study on RTNDA news awards attempted to gain insights on media culture, examining actual judges' conversations during the judging process.[18] Altheide found the judges more important than the substance of the awards.[19] More recently, George Gladney analyzed the winners of the National Newspaper Association contests.[20] In keeping with Altheide's findings, Gladney found that the winners of the general excellence award were usually drawn from among those who specialized in "aesthetic" areas such as typography, photography, and color. Those who specialized in "non-aesthetic" areas such as pure writing and reporting were less likely to be chosen.[21] Gladney contended this emphasis on visual appeal over writing and reporting is evidence of a "widespread adoption of *USA Today*-style innovation."[22] Altheide suggested that more research was needed to see if "the RTNDA experience is wholly unique."[23] Gladney's research would indicate that the "RTNDA experience" is not unique.

This study will look at the Lovejoy Awards in a similar manner. It seems likely that the Lovejoy Award judges would be less likely to sacrifice substance over technique in that an award for courage would seem, by definition, to focus on substance. There are limitations as to what we can learn from this research. The operational definition of journalistic courage in this study is the behavior exemplified by those nominated (award winners and losers) for the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award. This is the sample from which this study operates. It is not strictly representative of journalists as a population, but may provide insights into the way journalists perceive journalistic character.

1956: Mabel Norris Reese Challenges Racism

The first winner of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award was Mabel Norris Reese, editor of the Mount Dora, Florida, *Topic*.[24] Reese's battles centered on a local sheriff. When she protested the sheriff's shooting of two African American prisoners, a burning cross was placed in her yard, and the letters KKK were painted on her office. She later fought with the sheriff to allow two Native American children to attend the local school. As a result, she lost most of her printing business and was labeled a Communist by a rival newspaper created by the sheriff.[25]

In applying the research questions to Reese, it is apparent that all the research questions can be answered in the affirmative. Reese knew the risks ahead of time. She knew she would be in for a fight if she opposed the sheriff for shooting two unarmed African American prisoners. In regard to actual harm, Reese suffered property damage, physical threats, public denouncement, and economic hardship. The action was definitely in the public interest. Motives are obviously hard to judge, but it appears Reese had no alternate agenda for her actions other than to serve the public. No elements of revenge, profit or attention-seeking are apparent. The campaign also had a high profile, an element underscored by the fact that a rival newspaper was started to combat Reese's stand.

1957: Horace V. Wells, Jr.'s School Integration Crusade

The winner of the 1957 Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award was Horace V. Wells, Jr., editor of the *Clinton Courier-News*, in Clinton, Tennessee. In posing the research questions to the Wells' situation, it is clear that all the questions can be answered affirmatively. Wells risked death to crusade for school integration, a stand that resulted in an attack on his property. Wells notes:

> In the spring of 1957 there was a series of so-far unexplained and unsolved dynamite blasts at various places over the community. One of the blasts was in the front yard of Chief of Police Francis Moore, who also was a member of the School Board. Another was in my front yard.[26]

Economic pressures were also present. Circulation dipped. A rival pro-segregation newspaper was started, but eventually Wells' circulation climbed back to its previous level.[27]

As for understanding the risks, Wells claims not to have taken note of them. He states, "As for myself, I did not deliberately choose the

editorial path I was to follow . . . . I merely said what I have always believed and I said it without consideration of the consequences."[28] The motives were pure, the high profile campaign was sustained over a period of time,[29] and it achieved results.[30]

1958: J. Wilcox Dunn Fights a Political Machine

The winner of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award in 1958 was J. Wilcox Dunn, editor of the Virginia Beach, North Carolina *Princess Anne Free Press*.[31] Dunn ran great risks in taking on a local political machine, suffering physical harm. Dunn states:

> I was in the middle of a violent fight with a thug who ambushed me one evening and beat me up with a blackjack; later my home was stoned; political, social, economic pressures were used to try to stamp out the newspaper I had started.[32]

Dunn's fight was high profile, dramatic, and in the public interest.[33] Dunn felt economic pressures as well[34] and there is no evidence the fight was for personal gain.

1959: John F. Wells Fights Election Fraud

In 1959, the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award went to John F. Wells, editor of the *Arkansas Recorder*, in Little Rock, Arkansas.[35] An article by Irving Dillard describes the consequences Wells suffered for taking a stand.[36] The reason Wells received the award is further explained in an article titled "Citation." It states:

> For persisting in active support of law and order and attacking, through the columns of his newspaper, what he believed to be fraudulent election procedures, although confronted with personal unpopularity, political disfavor and economic reprisals.[37]

It appears Wells did not face the severe pressures that Lovejoy winners before and after him had faced.[38] However, it does appear he sacrificed more than nominees Dunaway and Jones, a point that may shed light on the differences in the competition from year to year.

In addition to the *Grassroots Editor* articles[39] on Wells, there is a file full of information on the 1959 Lovejoy Award process in the Long Collection.[40] One of the letters is from Howard Long written to John Wells,

notifying him that he was nominated for his "professional activities."[41] Long does not appear to be overly enthusiastic about Wells' nomination, and other documents make the reason apparent. Other nominees for the award include William R. Dunaway of the Aspen, Colorado, *Aspen Times*, and Weimar S. Jones of the Franklin, North Carolina, *Franklin Press*. From the letters in the Long Collection we find that Long did not actually take part in the judging, but his personal favorite in this case was Weimar Jones who ultimately lost to Wells. Long says in a letter to Jones, "I feel it is entirely proper for me to say I hope you win."[42]

Long's letter to Jones also expresses some concern about elements of Jones' situation that might not be regarded favorably by the judges. Long noted, "I am particularly interested in the failure of your editorial group to lend official support."[43] The "group" referred to in Long's letter is actually the Western North Carolina Press Association, as Jones makes clear in his six-page response.[44] The other nominee who did not win in 1959 was William Dunaway, whose entry was based on community service and did not appear to have involved risks or hardship.[45]

1960: Hazel Brannon Smith Provokes a Sheriff

The 1960 winner of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award was Hazel Brannon Smith,[46] editor of the *Lexington, Mississippi Advertiser*, and later, winner of the Pulitzer Prize.[47] Smith had suffered for her stand. A *Grassroots Editor* article written by Howard Long and titled "Our Great Lady of the Press" describes her ordeal. Long writes:

> Her troubles started in 1954 when the sheriff shot and wounded a Negro, a young man with no record of wrong doing and who has not yet been called to face charges in court. Mrs. Smith printed the story . . . . There followed a libel suit.[48]

Long goes on to detail her acquittal at the state Supreme Court level. The retaliation, however, had only begun. Her husband was unexplainably fired as an administrator of a local hospital, and the newspaper was boycotted. Still, Long notes that the community stood behind Smith and her husband throughout the difficulties.

Once again, community support, overt or tacit, seems to have been an important factor in the selection of the Lovejoy winner. This is also indicated in another article dedicated to Smith titled "Citation," which notes that community support did not flag.[49] In applying the research questions to Hazel Brannon Smith, all the questions can be answered in the affirmative.

Others who were nominated in 1960 include Jackson Goolsby, editor of the *Atrium County News* in Belaire, Michigan; Captain Larry Neilson, editor of the Wilmington, Delaware, *Town-Crier*; Mrs. R. D. Paisley, editor of the Beaver, Pennsylvania *Midland Weekly News*; the Rev. Edward H. Flannery, editor of the Providence, Rhode Island *Providence Visitor;* Mr. And Mrs. Willis G. Vanderburg, editors of the Shell Rock, Iowa *News;* and John M. Havas, editor of the South River, New Jersey *Spokesman.*

Jackson Goolsby faced pressure, but his motive may have been to get attention. He nominated himself for the award with an accompanying note that explained: "It's invigorating to have people mad at you, but even Jack needs a word of praise once in a while."[50] "Jack" Goolsby did not seem to suffer from low self-esteem. The community consensus seemed to rest on a universal dislike for Goolsby that Goolsby proudly noted had started with a series he had published titled, "God is a Monkey."[51] Larry Neilson also faced pressure and his efforts had an impact on the community.[52] It seems Neilson was a good candidate.[53]

Mrs. R. D. Paisley had a strong recommendation but her work was commended for being "colorful" rather than courageous.[54] Reverend Flannery, like Goolsby, nominated himself for the award, and his work is not in a newspaper, but in a booklet.[55] The nomination of Mr. and Mrs. Willis G. Vanderburg is also miscast. While Mrs. Vanderburg was president of the National Federation of Press Women, their recommendation merely states they "backed education in their own home community in a commendable manner."[56] The last entry, John M. Havas, is interesting in that he appears to have met the requirements, yet withdrew because he felt he "did not meet the standards set forth for this award."[57] Perhaps the lack of a direct threat made Havas feel he did not measure up.

1961: Samuel Woodring Takes a Stand

Samuel Woodring won the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award in 1961. Woodring, editor of the *North Augusta Star*, in North Augusta, South Carolina, was nominated by his wife, who gave a detailed description of his activities. Miriam Woodring notes:

> An all night campaign was organized with threats, curses and silence being the context of the calls. He was publicly described as an "outsider," a "liar" and in far more degrading terms, culminating in an almost physical attack on him by the retired Chief of Police at a later council meeting, when

> [retiring police chief] Weeks referred to him as an "egg-eyed Jew"! Persons had to hold back Weeks and take him from the room to avoid physical violence . . . . a photographer for the August newspapers was assaulted and members of an angry mob threatened editor Woodring and myself.[58]

This aspect is reiterated in other letters supporting Woodring.[59] An article in *Editor & Publisher* notes that about 15 percent of his accounts cancelled out.[60] This economic pressure increased when a rival newspaper was started in the same town.[61] It also appears from the Miriam Woodring letter that, despite disapproval by a faction, Samuel Woodring maintained support of the community. According to Miriam Woodring, Samuel Woodring's motive was simply to "do the right thing."[62]

The issue in this case, however, is not clear-cut. The situation started as a candidate endorsement and continued as a personal feud. The candidate Woodring had endorsed turned out to be less than honorable. In dealing with one African American prisoner, testimony indicated "the sergeant [the candidate Woodring had endorsed] had used unnecessary force."[63] The sergeant was subsequently dismissed. The muddiness of the issue is echoed in a reference letter written to Howard Rusk Long by a former mayor, R. A. Toole, Jr., who notes:

> I certainly did not agree with everything done by council; nor did I agree with everything that Woodring said in his paper. But as to the overall correctness of his stand with a view to a better community, I am in wholehearted agreement.[64]

Thus, it appears the correctness of the stand Woodring took may not have been as important as the fact that he took a stand.

The Long Collection contains a file for one other nominee in 1961, Jerry Ringo, editor of the *Menifee County Journal* in Frenchburg, Kentucky.[65] In reviewing the information regarding Ringo, it is difficult to see why Woodring was chosen over Ringo. Ringo had all the qualifications that Woodring had, as well as economic hardship and a good issue on which to stand. Where Woodring fell short, Ringo shines.[66]

1962: Gene Wirges Challenges a Political Machine

Gene Wirges won the 1962 Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award. The pressure against Wirges was great and he eventually received national attention for his efforts. Articles on Wirges appeared in the *Saturday*

Evening Post[67] and *The New York Times*.[68] From the many accounts of Wirges' battles, it is obvious he suffered.[69] He was sued, imprisoned, threatened, and eventually lost his newspaper.[70] The economic pressures were also great.[71] There were risks. Wirges knew them, took them, and suffered for it.[72]

In what is becoming an old theme in the Lovejoy Awards, Wirges took on a local sheriff who headed a political machine.[73] At this point, the situation gets sticky. While being questioned during his libel trial, Wirges perjured himself and was eventually sentenced to three years in prison.[74] While Wirges didn't deny the perjury charges, the Long Collection contains a file of information indicating the Wirges jury may have been stacked. Wirges compiled detailed biographies of all the grand jury members and it appears than many, if not all, of the jury members admitted being members of the Democratic Party machine allegedly controlled by the sheriff.[75] Consequently, the *Grassroots Editor* articles do not make much of the perjury charges and tend to lionize Wirges.[76]

1963: Penn Jones, Jr. Threatens Blackmail But Gets ICWNE Nod

In 1963, Penn Jones, Jr., editor of the *Mirror*, in Midlothian, Texas, won the Elijah Lovejoy Award. Penn's situation is best described in his own words in a *Grassroots_Editor* article. Jones states:

> The excited watchman yelled an excited "yes" when I asked if the Mirror was on fire . . . the "watchman must have broken the door," I thought as I rushed into the building and rushed out again, vomiting from the from acrid smoke.[77]

Jones was selected because he opposed secret school board meetings and alleged John Birch Society influence at school assemblies,[78] and wanted to change the racial inequality in the school.[79] After Jones privately accused a John Birch leader of being a homosexual and threatening to expose him, Jones' house was firebombed.[80] He was also involved in two fistfights.[81] Jones was nothing if not controversial.[82]

In addition to the fights and firebombing, Jones faced economic pressures. Jones states, "Economic pressures have been used for years. I still have many local firms who won't even put a classified ad in our papers."[83]

1964: No Award Given

No award was given out in 1964. There is no clear indication why.[84]

1965: Foster Meharry Russell Faces Union Mob Hanging Him in Effigy

The Lovejoy Award was back on track in 1965, and Foster Meharry Russell, editor of the Coburg, Ontario, *Sentinel-Star* won it. Russell had come under attack for opposing a local union. An article in *Editor & Publisher* relates one of Russell's brushes with the union workers:

> Coming into Port Hope on Highway Two, he spotted a panel truck on the outskirts of town, about 70 feet from where the workers had gathered in the public park. The workers had erected a mock gallows on top of the truck and dangling from it was a well constructed dummy. The sign pinned to the dummy read: "Chief Full-A-Bull Russell."[85]

Russell took pictures and the crowd surged at him, but he escaped to print the photos on the front page of his paper the next day.[86]

Here there is, once again, an award winner of whom all the research questions can be answered affirmatively. Russell knew the risks, but despite severe hardship, persevered with pure motives. Russell's citation in the *Grassroots Editor* underscores these attributes:

> His devotion to the highest standards of journalism is represented by the comprehensive coverage of events significant to the vital interests of his readers . . . for the qualities of leadership displayed on the editorial page of his newspaper. For his willingness to encounter the wrath of local pressure groups in the course of performing his duties of reporter and editor.[87]

Russell's hardship does not seem as great as that of some past award winners, however. Aside from the mob incident, there were no major repercussions. A story on Russell in the *Grassroots Editor* states: "Mr. Russell received a few threatening phone calls during the strike, [and] he sold more papers during it then [sic] before it."[88]

1966: Sidney Curtis a Mystery

Sidney Curtis is a mystery. While he is included in the lists of winners as having won the 1966 Lovejoy Award, there are no articles or file information about him. There is a file labeled "Sidney Curtis" in the Lovejoy Collection, but it includes no information on Sidney Curtis.[89]

There are four themes among those who won the Lovejoy Award:
1) all of the Lovejoy Award winners suffered severe economic hardship;
2) all, except for one, endured physical threats or attacks;[90]
3) six tackled political machines;[91]
4) four won the award for taking a stand on matters of race.[92]

Interestingly, the winners did not always have a clear issue, as in the case of Samuel Woodring, and were not always blameless, as in the case of Gene Wirges (who committed perjury), and Penn Jones, Jr. (who blackmailed an alleged homosexual). Perhaps, in the context of the time, the Lovejoy Award judges saw the situations as warfare, and thus forgave what they may have seen as peccadilloes in a larger battle for justice.

The original research question was "How did some journalists characterize courage during the late 1950s and 1960s?" In summary, the Lovejoy Award seems to have epitomized toughness and was not associated with total purity of methods. Perhaps courage was seen as a character trait that happened to real people, who had real shortcomings, and was manifested in a way beneficial to society. This appears to be evident in the judges' selection of candidates who sometimes made mistakes, but did so out of pure motives (if not with pure methods).

The context of the times may be especially important as it was a time of civil rights challenges, a theme which figured prominently in many of the award stories. This may explain why most of the grassroots editors who won the award were from the South. Perhaps civil rights crusaders in the South were understood as having to withstand pressures not normally faced by other grassroots editors.

This study of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Awards indicates that, contrary to the expressed opinion that small town editors were in fear of the status quo,[93] some did attack the status quo and suffered for it. Future research could seek to determine if these displays were representative of grassroots editors in general, or were an anomaly.

Endnotes

[1]There is a collection of Lovejoy material at Colby College, Maine. A number of books are also available on the life and death of Elijah Parish Lovejoy. Paul Simon, *Freedom's Champion — Elijah Lovejoy* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994); Henry Tanner, *The Martyrdom of*

Lovejoy (New York: A. M. Kelly, 1971); Joseph Cammet Lovejoy, *Memoir of the Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1970); Merton Lynn Dillon, *Elijah Parish Lovejoy: Abolitionist Editor* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961); John Gill, *Tide Without Turning: Elijah Parish Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press* (Boston: Starr King Press, 1958); Melvin Jameson, *Elijah Parish Lovejoy as a Christian* (Rochester: Scranton, Wetmore & Co., 1910); Edward Beecher, *Narrative of Riots at Alton: In Connection with the Death of Reverend Elijah Parish Lovejoy* (Alton: G. Holton, 1838); Beriah Green, *The* Martyr: *A Discourse* (New York: The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1838).

[2]Only a few past studies have focused on grassroots editors. Those that have, have either focused on the content of grassroots publications, or consisted of anecdotal accounts. Emil Newstrand, "The Editorial Page in Iowa Country Weeklies," M. A. theses, State University of Iowa, 1931; Wilbur Peterson and Robert Thorp, "Weeklies' Editorial Effort Less than 30 Years Ago," *Journalism Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (winter 1962): 53-6.

[3]Howard Rusk Long Collection, Southern Illinois University Library Archives. These files include descriptions of judging criteria, correspondence among judges, nominees and nominators, as well as recommendations and clippings used in the award selection process. Detailed comments from the judges were not available.

[4]Houston Waring, "What is a Grassroots Editor?" *Grassroots Editor* (January 1960): 5.

[5]Ibid., 7.

[6]Paul F. Gerhard, "Courage and the Small Community Editor," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1961): 8.

[7]ICWNE member Malcomb Coe felt the standards were too difficult for grassroots editors to attain. Malcomb D. Coe, "A Look at the Grassroots Editor En Masse," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1960): 19.

[8]Malcomb MacDonald Willey, *The Country Newspaper: A Study of Socialization and Newspaper Content* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), 3.

[9]John Cameron Sim, *The Grass Roots Press: America's Community Newspapers* (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1969), 4; Thomas D. Clark, *The Southern Country Editor* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers, 1948), Preface.

[10]Ben H. Bagdikian, *The Effete Conspiracy: And Other Crimes of the Press* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 47-56.

[11]*Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass: Merriam-Webster, 1991).

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[15]While Howard Rusk Long was the driving force behind ICWNE for more than a decade, he did not hold a vote in the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award selection process.

[16]Howard Rusk Long, "The Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award," 1959, Long Collection.

[17]Ibid.

[18]David L. Altheide, "RTNDA News Award Judging and Media Culture," *Journalism Quarterly* 55,

no. 1 (spring 1978): 161.

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[20]George Albert Gladney, "The Bias of Visual Appeal in the Selection of General Excellence Winners in Newspaper Contests," Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1995 Annual Convention, Washington, D. C.

[21]Ibid., abstract.

[22]Ibid., 19.

[23]Altheide, "RTNDA News Award Judging and Media Culture," 166.

[24]A file in the Long Collection titled "Elijah Lovejoy Correspondence" includes a letter by a Richard Lee to a Mr. Brandle, providing a list of the first four award winners. This, unfortunately, is the only primary source on Reese that exists in the Long Collection.

[25]Mabel Norris Reese, "Crusades are Not Cheaper by the Dozen," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1960): 19.

[26]Horace V. Wells, "The People of Clinton Were With Us," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1960): 11.

[27]David Hulbertson, "Down the Street," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1960): 11.

[28]Wells, "The People of Clinton Were With Us," 12.

[29]Hulbertson, "Down the Street," 11.

[30]Wells, "The People of Clinton Were With Us," 12.

[31]Although there is little in the way of information on this winner in the Long Collection, A *Grassroots Editor* article written by Dunn himself provides an overview of the events that were behind his winning the Lovejoy Award.

[32]J. Wilcox Dunn, "The Blessed Fight," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1960): 5.

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[34]Ibid.

[35]Irving Dillard, "The Lovejoy Award," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1960): 6; "Case History of a Newspaper," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1961): 4; "John Wells of Little Rock," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1960): 7.

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[37]"Citation," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1959): 6.

[38]"1959 John F. Wells," 1961 Lovejoy Award Nominations and Correspondence File, Long Collection.

[39]"John F. Wells of Little Rock," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1960): 7;

[40]Elijah Lovejoy Correspondence File, Howard Rusk Long Collection, Southern Illinois University Library Archives.

[41]Howard Rusk Long to John Wells, 18 March 1959, Eilijah Lovejoy Correspondence File, Long Collection.

[42]Howard Rusk Long to Weimar Jones, 1 April 1959, Elijah Lovejoy Correspondence File, Long Collection.

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[44]Weimar Jones to Howard Rusk Long, 15 April 1959, Elijah Lovejoy Correspondence File, Long Collection.

[45]William A. Dunaway to Howard Rusk Long, 5 September 1958, Elijah Lovejoy Correspondence File, Long Collection.

[46]There is a file of information on Smith in the Long Collection and four *Grassroots Editor* articles by or about Smith. National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection; "Citation," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1960): 3; "Great Lady of the Press," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1960): 2; Bernard F. Law, "Well Deserved Award," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1964): 2; Howard Rusk Long, "Case Studies in Stewardship," *Grassroots Editor* (January 1964): 2.

[47]Mark Newman, "Hazel Brannon Smith and Holmes County, Mississippi, 1936-1964: The Making of a Pulitzer Prize Winner," *Journal of Mississippi History* 54, no. 1 (1992): 59-87.

[48]Howard Rusk Long, "Our Great Lady of the Press," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1960): 2.

[49]"Citation," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1960): 3.

[50]Jackson Goolsby to Howard Rusk Long, 15 April 1960, National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Joseph F. Ford to Howard Rusk Long, 27 April 1960, National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection.

[53]There appears to be no reason for Neilson not to get the Award other than the fact that Hazel Brannon Smith was an even stronger candidate. Neilson probably would have won had he been nominated in a year when the competition was not as stiff.

[54]Rev. Richard E. Harding to Howard Rusk Long, 1 May 1960, National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection.

[55]Rev. Edward Flannery to Howard Rusk Long, 14 March 1960, National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection.

[56]Gertrude M. Hall to Howard Rusk Long, 28 March 1960, National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection.

[57]John H. Havas to Howard Rusk Long, 2 May 1960, National Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors 1960 Lovejoy Nominees File, Long Collection.

[58]Miriam Woodring to Howard Rusk Long, 28 March 1961, Samuel Woodring File, Long Collection.

[59]Max S. Sims to Howard Rusk Long, 9 April 1961, Samuel Woodring File, Long Collection; Carl M. Hair, 11 April 1961, Samuel Woodring File, Long Collection.

[60]Rick Friedman, "Editor Vilified for Civic Reform Wins Courage Award," *Editor & Publisher* (22 July 1962): 9.

[61]Photocopy Summary of Award Winner's Situations, 1961 Lovejoy Award Nominations and Correspondence, Long Collection.

[62]Miriam Woodring to Howard Rusk Long, 11 April 1961, Samuel Woodring File, Long Collection.

[63]Ibid.

[64]R. A. Toole to Howard Rusk Long, 11 April 1961, Samuel Woodring File, Long Collection.

[65]Lovejoy Competition Jerry Ringo File, Long Collection.

[66]Dr. Donald Graves to Howard Rusk Long, 12 April 1961, Lovejoy Competition Jerry Ringo File, Long Collection.

[67]Trevor Armbrister, "Embattled Crusader of Conway County," *The Saturday Evening Post* (19 November 1966): 25-6.

[68]Roy Reed, "Editor Convicted in Perjury Case," *The New York Times* (4 February 1966): 14.

[69]*Time* (22 September 1961): 75.

[70]Photocopy Summary of Award Winner's Situations, 1961 Lovejoy Award Nominations and Correspondence, Long Collection.

[71]The economic pressure is outlined in a letter from the owner of a Morrilton, Arkansas drug company to Howard Rusk Long. Robert Mobley to Howard Rusk Long, 5 March 1962, "1961 Lovejoy Award Nominations and Correspondence," Long Collection.

[72]Howard Rusk Long, "Recipe for Success," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1962): 2.

[73]Gene Wirges, "Editor Fights for Clean Government," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1962): 2.

[74]"Faubus Stays Out of Wirges Case," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (6 February 1966): 2.

[75]Wirges Data File, Long Collection.

[76]Howard Rusk Long, "Recipe for Success," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1962): 2; Gene Wirges, "Editor Fights for Clean Government," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1962): 3; "An Arkansas Tragedy," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1966): 7; "A Social Cancer," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1966): 2; "Jury System on Trial," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1966): 3.

[77]Penn Jones, Jr., "Alarming in the Night," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1963): 7.

[78]Penn Jones, "First Secret Meeting Held By Trustees: President Curtis Resigns; Morgan Appointed

Monday Night," *The Midloathian Mirror* (4 October 1962): 4.

[79]Penn Jones to Howard Rusk Long, 18 May 1963, Penn Jones, Jr. Scrapbook File, Long Collection.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Jerry Richmond, "School Crusade Erupts, Weekly's Plant Bombed," *Editor & Publisher* (12 May 1962): 13.

[82]Jones also believed Jack Ruby had been injected with a cancer causing virus. "Texas Editor Pursues Truth Despite Dangers," *The Canadian Weekly Publisher (February 1967): 7.*

[83]Penn Jones to Howard Rusk Long, 18 May 1963, Penn Jones, Jr. Scrapbook File, Long Collection.

[84]There are, however, a few pieces of evidence. See Jesse Lyons to Rick Friedman, 2 June 1964, Ira Silverman File, Long Collection; Bernard Weinburg to Rick Friedman, Ira Silverman File, Long Collection; Paul Lloyd Flatlow to Rick Friedman, Ira Silverman File, Long Collection.

[85]Rick Friedman, "Hanged in Effigy Editor Wins Award," *Editor & Publisher* (17 July 1965): 14.

[86]Ibid.

[87]"Citation," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1965): 4.

[88]Rick Friedman, "A Fighter of Causes," *Grassroots Editor* (October 1965): 6.

[89]Sidney Curtis File, Long Collection. Also strange is the fact that there is no mention of him in the 1966 issues of the *Grassroots Editor*. To add to the mystery, there are three articles in the 1966 *Grassroots Editor* issues regarding 1962 Lovejoy Award winner Gene Wirges. See "An Arkansas Tragedy," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1966): 7; "A Social Cancer," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1966): 2; "Jury System on Trial," *Grassroots Editor* (April 1966): 3.

[90]They were Mabel Norris Reese, Horace V. Wells, J. Wilcox Dunn, Hazel Brannon Smith, Samuel Woodring, Gene Wirges, Penn Jones, and Foster Meharry Russell.

[91]They were Mabel Norris Reese (1956), J. Wilcox Dunn (1958), John F. Wells (1959), Hazel Brannon Smith (1960), Samuel Woodring (1961), and Gene Wirges (1962).

[92]They were Mabel Norris Reese, Horace Wells, Penn Jones, Jr., and Hazel Brannon Smith. All four of these editors were from the South.

[93]Bagdikian, *The Effete Conspiracy: And Other Crimes of the Press,* 47-56.

Snarls Echoing 'Round the World: The 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign on the World Stage

By Richard Lentz

Dr. Martin Luther King's 1963 civil rights campaign in Birmingham was an international communication phenomenon as well as a domestic news event. This study examines that campaign in the context of the Cold War between the United States and its Communist adversaries for the loyalties of emerging states of the Third World. It argues that foreign perceptions of racist problems had a powerful impact on America's standing abroad, at least in the eyes of President John F. Kennedy, and he shaped policy accordingly.

Between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s, international reactions to American racial problems played an important role in the war of words between the Soviet Union and the United States, and thus American foreign policy. Unfortunately, that role has been obscured or has vanished altogether from the popular imagination over recent decades, and even scholars have tended to neglect the international implications of the American civil rights movement. Most scholars and publishers once regarded African Americans and foreign affairs, Brenda Gayle Plummer observed wryly, as topics having "as little to do with one another as chalk and cheese."[1] That situation has improved somewhat, but not until recent years have scholars done much more than mention the topic in passing.

This study adds to the relatively sparse (and somewhat scattered) scholarship on this question by examining the 1963 Birmingham civil

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rights crisis as an event on the world stage.[2] The research primarily involved examination of dispatches from U.S. diplomats abroad and translations of foreign news and propaganda, which were major sources of information for shapers of American foreign policy when it came to Birmingham's impact on the international image of the United States.

Can Effects Be Documented?

Considerable obstacles confront those who follow this line of inquiry into mass media portrayals of American racial problems. Not least among them are the tens of thousands of newspapers and magazines around the world (not to mention radio and television stations), and hundreds of millions of readers, listeners, and viewers with their thousands of languages and dialects and as many cultures and subcultures.[3] Any attempt to reduce the question to one of mass effects creates another difficulty: How to demonstrate that messages printed or broadcast in the United States affected people thousands of miles away? And even if there was impact abroad, how could it be transferred back to the United States—and with what effect, if any, on the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of Americans?

Robert Dahl provides a way out of the difficulty. The critical factor may be whether leaders hold a belief in the power of media, public opinion, or both, and shape their actions accordingly. This happened after the Birmingham crisis when President John F. Kennedy instructed American diplomats across the world —as a matter of "greatest importance"—to meet with governments to which they were accredited and explain racial issues as manifested in Birmingham.[4] Kennedy's was not the first administration to find that perceptions abroad of American racism threatened—actually or potentially—American interests.[5] Nor were those interests limited to matters of image.[6]

Sympathy for Albany Movement Denied

King's Birmingham campaign grew out of linked needs: to put pressure on Kennedy to act on civil rights and to restore King's position as *the* African American leader. That position had been undercut by King's humiliating defeat in the Albany campaign of the previous year. Albany's Police Chief Laurie Pritchett had countered King's tactic of using mass arrests to overload the Albany jail by transferring prisoners to nearby penal facilities in the region. He also drained King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference financially by demanding that all bail bonds be paid in cash.

Most important, Pritchett required his officers to avoid public violence when dealing with demonstrators, thus denying the Albany movement the sympathy from the national press and the American public that was to be so important in the Birmingham campaign. Twice King even was denied the symbolic martyrdom he sought to achieve by forcing the authorities to arrest him.[7] Pritchett, complained King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, became "the darling of the press" merely because he did no more than refrain from brutality.[8]

As if that were not enough, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy wired his congratulations to Pritchett for adhering to "nonviolence"—even though Pritchett's triumph spelled the victory of segregation in Albany and King's humiliation the defeat of racial equality.[9] Thus, Albany became "widely regarded as a fiasco, King's biggest and most public defeat"—a defeat that raised the stakes in Birmingham since King and his aides "believed that they could not endure two major defeats in a row."[10]

But King also had his sights set higher than personal or organizational status. He was counting on the Birmingham campaign to produce the sort of brutal, open violence against peacefully demonstrating African American citizens that would stir the nation to demand that Kennedy finally take action on civil rights. The SCLC, in the judgment of its executive director Wyatt Tee Walker (presumably King's as well), had to "have a crisis to bargain with." Otherwise it simply invited whites to "nail you to the cross."[11]

The campaign started on April 3, 1963. The timing was ostensibly keyed to the symbolism attached to the Easter season. But King and his advisers were aware of the potential for more immediate and forceful symbolism in the person of Fire and Police Commission Eugene "Bull" Connor, who, King was informed, would be unable to restrain himself or his men with the dexterity that made Laurie Pritchett so slippery an opponent in Albany.[12]

The initial demonstrations were not decisive. King arrived in Birmingham on April 4, and his presence spurred the turnout at rallies at African American churches. Protest marches in early April led to a number of arrests, but the number of volunteers willing to court arrest and pack the jails to overflowing dwindled rapidly. No dramatic incidents that might rally the faithful had occurred, and King tried to provide one on April 12, when he and Ralph David Abernathy set out on a march to force police to arrest them. They were taken into custody and jailed. King spent much of his incarceration writing his famous "Letter from the Birmingham Jail," but the gesture was a failure otherwise. Less than a week after their release, King and Abernathy exhorted a packed church for more than an hour, but could recruit only a dozen volunteers to go to jail.[13]

King and his aides found the way on May 2 to maneuver Connor into the open violence they calculated would bring about storms of national and international outrage: They sent waves of schoolchildren, most of them teenagers, on marches downtown. Before nightfall, more than a thousand children were incarcerated. Connor's self-control snapped, and, King's lawyer recalled, "out came the billy clubs, the police dogs, and the fire hoses."[14]

Watching such weapons used against children was not just an outraged America but a shocked world. More than 250 representatives of newspapers, wire services, radio and television, and magazines from "most of the larger American cities and many of the nations of Europe and Asia invaded the city."[15] The author William Bradford Huie, himself a native of Alabama, happened to be in Paris when he "first saw the dog and fire hose pictures," and they persuaded him that only Birmingham could have "a worse press [image] in the world" than the pariah state of South Africa.[16]

The outcry did not arise simply because of dogs, hoses, and clubs, all of which had been used before against racial demonstrators, usually with as much brutality as Connor's men. Two years before, for example, policemen in Jackson, Mississippi, had set upon a crowd of about 100 African Americans with "clubs, guns, and police dogs," a moment captured in photographs; neither in the United States nor in the world was there more than a whisper of protest.[17]

As for powerful fire hoses, *L'Osservatore Romano* demanded from Vatican City "why South Africa's police 'did not employ such modern means as water hoses and tear gas, which are in use in all civilized countries,' instead of mowing down men, women, and children indiscriminately" with gunfire in the bloody Sharpeville massacre of 1960.[18] For that matter, far deadlier weapons than clubs, dogs, and fire hoses would be used during the great urban disorders that racked the United States later in the 1960s without arousing any resounding uproar such as came after Birmingham.[19] Thus, the weapons and tactics themselves did not produce the revulsion; rather, it was their use against the children of Birmingham.

Much of the impact of Birmingham can be ascribed to news photographs that proved more damaging to the American image abroad than photographs of mob violence at the desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School in 1957 or the University of Mississippi in 1962, crises in which federal troops had been a visible force in resisting mobs and protecting black rights. Moreover, when even some Americans did not

understand the federal-state relationship and the role of the federal judiciary, a reporter wrote at the time, it was not at all surprising that Africans and Asians could only see "the sight of Negro masses scuffling with the police in Birmingham."[20] While the U.S. government tried to ameliorate the damage, American propagandists admitted "that all their pamphlets, all their words and books and motion pictures have not half the impac t— or one-tenth — of the reports of the actual events that took place in Birmingham."[21]

Message Carried Worldwide

No sophisticated system of *national* communication was required to gain access to pictures of or articles about flailing clubs, snarling dogs, and lashing fire hoses on the streets of Birmingham. The global system of mass communication penetrated even the remotest countries. In the African kingdom of Burundi, for example, there was "almost complete absence of newspapers" and just one (government-owned) radio station, and thus, wrote a U.S. envoy, "the penetration of attitudes expressed in mass media is probably as limited" as it "could possibly be in the modern world."[22] Even so, imported newspapers, magazines, radio, and newsreels kept foreign news flowing steadily into Burundi.

Not so television. Television was too rare in Asia (except Japan) and in the current and former colonies of Africa (where there was one television set to every thousand Africans, and none at all in some countries) to have had much impact in 1963, and, of course, it was the Third World states whose loyalties the United States and its Communist adversaries were competing so fiercely to win.[23] Before communications satellites were parked in geosynchronous orbits, television was also too slow, too expensive, too cumbersome, and often too unreliable as a tool for worldwide communication. American networks used Telstar II only 30 times in 1963 between May 7 and November 6, and European networks only seven times. Not until late November of 1963 was a trans-Pacific television program transmitted from the United States to Japan, which had the most extensive and most sophisticated television system in Asia.[24]

Radio was almost certainly the most important Third World medium. In the early 1960s, there were an estimated 100 million radio sets, short-wave and standard, outside the United States and Europe. Short-wave radio broadcasts could command huge audiences, perhaps as many as one billion listeners in the case of one religious station in Ethiopia, which spread not only the Gospel but had a reputation for broadcasting the most reliable news and educational programs of any station in Africa.[25] Obviously, however, radio could do no more than suggest the powerful visual images emanating from Birmingham in 1963.

Those images were indeed powerful. Over and over, the reports from American posts abroad cited instantly famous images — still photographs, for the most part, of the dogs, the clubs, the fire hoses, of the black children, some of elementary school age, being arrested and herded into the Birmingham jail. They were published in Communist nations, chief among them the Soviet Union and mainland China, but in other Communist satellite states as well.

The photographs also appeared in the non-Communist press: in Madagascar, Chad, Guinea, Nigeria, Kenya, Niger, Burundi, Iraq, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Jamaica, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Norway, Uganda—these being specifically cited by U.S. diplomats as countries in which the shocking images appeared. Undoubtedly, they were published in many other nations as well.

Propaganda for Communist Media

The Birmingham crisis figured greatly in the propaganda issuing from the Communist nations — especially, but not limited to, the Soviet Union.[26] "Orgy of Racism in Alabama," shouted *Pravda* on May 7 above a 950-word article with a photograph.[27] That same day, *Izvestia* ran 150 words on its front page under the headline, "Negro America is Seething."[28] The tender age of those arrested was emphasized in a 600-word article on May 9 under *Pravda*'s headline "Six-Year-Olds Among the Arrested — Monstrous Crimes of Racists in the U. S. A." This article also linked the violence against African American demonstrators to a black man's story of how his father was beaten to death by a white policeman in Birmingham.

"Nobody cared about his tragedy," *Pravda* claimed, until the man found sympathetic ears at the Soviet mission to the United Nations.[29] *Izvestia* also published, on May 10 and May 12, photographs of a police officer chasing a black woman and of a "Negro boy [who had been arrested and put] in jail for taking part in [the] Birmingham demonstration."[30] By May 16, Ambassador Foy Kohler cabled Washington about the "heavy beating [of] Soviet propaganda drums on Birmingham."[31] The echoes from Birmingham resounded in the Soviet press for weeks. *Izvestia* wrote, on June 2, of the "Savage, bared teeth of racism — American pogromists reveal themselves."[32] If that reference to the police dogs of Birmingham was too subtle, the same could not be said of photographs appearing in *Pravda* on June 3, one of a "police dog attacking [a] Negro demonstrator."[33]

With an eye cocked to African and the rest of the Third World , the Soviets castigated America for racism and hypocrisy. In an *Izvestia* cartoon on May 21 a "two-faced American pats [an] African on the head . . . [while he] shoots [an] American Negro at home."[34] By the end of May, a *Pravda* commentator conflated the United States and South Africa, implying that both were racist states;[35] by the end of June, he sneered that boasts about American liberty were belied by "The real face of American 'freedom'. . . in Alabama, where Negroes are attacked by police dogs, thrown into prison, beaten, and killed. Racists at home, the American preachers of 'freedom' have been and remain the bulwark of racism in Africa, colonialists and oppressors."[36] Yet racism did not stand alone; Soviet propaganda commentaries, "especially those designed for consumption in the underdeveloped areas, linked racism in the U.S. with the alleged U.S. policy of colonialism."[37]

Similar themes emanated from Soviet radio. American analysts reported that the "Soviet Union broadcast 1,420 anti-U.S. commentaries about the Birmingham crisis during the two weeks following the settlement — seven times more than at the worst" of the bloody Ole Miss battle in 1962 and "nine times the peak during the Freedom Rides," the integrated bus rides staged in 1961 to underscore the persistence of segregation in interstate transportation despite a Supreme Court ruling that banned it.[38] Radio Moscow devoted up to "a quarter of its output to Birmingham, much of it beamed to African audiences."[39]

Chinese Communist media, coincidentally, were baying after Soviet leaders for lapses from a Stalinist line at the time. Nevertheless, the Chinese sent out messages to domestic and foreign audiences that were similar to the content of those coming from Moscow. The American listening post in Hong Kong analyzed the themes emanating from the mainland. The U. S. government was "represented as working hand-in-glove with local racists, approving repression that involves police dogs, tear gas, and even electric shock sticks 'normally used for balky cattle,' and otherwise playing a passive although increasingly beleaguered role as a result of continued Negro agitation."[40] A more "incendiary treatment" was featured in a broadcast on mainland China's domestic radio service. A typical commentary (reported the Hong Kong consulate) was this:

> [A]fter frantically instructing the Alabama authorities to suppress the Negroes' struggle, [President] Kennedy even wanted to dispatch armed forces to slaughter the Negroes. This open oppression of Negroes by Kennedy thoroughly revealed that he is the ringleader of racial persecution and outrages in the United States.[41]

Chinese propaganda was replete with other attacks. A commentator for *Jen-min Jih-pao* denounced Kennedy for his "despicable role in the racial discrimination and persecution in the United States."[42] Naturally, the Chinese — as had the Soviets — emphasized the use of "guns, clubs, police dogs, and high-pressure water hoses against Negroes demonstrating for equal rights."[43]

Chinese propagandists pulled out the stops when Mao Zedong made what the Hong Kong consulate described, in a cable to Washington, as "an unprecedented appeal" from the Chinese leader.[44] Mao called "upon the people of the world to unite against the racial discrimination and support the American Negroes in their struggle against it."[45] Many of the landmark campaigns of the civil rights movement were cited by Mao: the Little Rock desegregation crisis of 1957, the sit-ins of 1960, the Freedom Rides of 1961, the desegregation of Ole Miss in 1962.

Special emphasis went, however, to Birmingham, where "unarmed, bare-handed Negro masses were subjected to wholesale arrests and the most barbarous suppression merely because they were holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination."[46] A barrage of propaganda followed Mao's statement. Later in the year, for instance, at a rally of some 10,000 persons staged in Beijing, Robert Williams, once an NAACP official in North Carolina before his radicalization, "indicted" the U.S. government "as [the] 'world's greatest hypocrite, greatest enslaver, and dehumanizer of human race, disgrace and horrible shame to all mankind, [and] threat to peace and security of world.'"[47]

Bloody Headlines

Prose from other quarters of the Communist world matched the vitriol spewing from Moscow or Beijing. "Screaming headlines such as 'Alabama Governor Floods Birmingham With Blood'" streamed across the pages of the Communist press of Lebanon.[48] Shocking scenes from Birmingham were used as evidence of the consanguinity of American racism and "the horrible exploits of Nazis in Hitler Germany" by the Belgian Communist newspaper, *Le Drapeau Rouge*.[49] Still, U.S. diplomats found reporting by some Communist journalists (e.g., in Hungary) "notably free of polemic and editorial comment."[50] On the other hand, they pointed out, the "actual conditions and U.S. coverage of the Negro situation in the U.S. have provided ample damaging material obviating any real need for distortion."[51]

Severe Criticism from Africa

The "severest criticism" about the incidents in Birmingham came, not unexpectedly, from Africa, according to the U.S. Information

Agency.[52] Even before the attacks on demonstrators in Birmingham, African newspapers denounced "'Southern Devils' in Congress," and called upon Americans "to develop [a] change of heart and accept [the] Negro as first-class citizen."[53] Some of the harshest words came from white-dominated states and interests that were delighted to use Birmingham to make themselves look better. Among them were the still powerful remnants of Belgian colonial interests in Katanga. *Essor du Katanga*, owned by Belgian financial interests, had "followed (according to an American Consul) "a consistently anti-American line" since the involvement of the United States in the United Nations efforts to end the Katangan secession.

On June 6, *Essor du Katanga* published what the Consul described as a "virulent anti-American editorial" that included this rhetorical question: "'Why do Americans pretend to love Africans, above all Congolese, with whom they need an interpreter to communicate, when they hate black Americans with whom they have lived for centuries?'" The article then equated "American treatment of blacks with that current in South Africa and Portugal."[54]

White racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa that, in the words of an American consul general, "are in great need of others on whom to blame their difficulties," seized upon the troubles in Alabama[55] Such a response was staked out by white Rhodesians who had broken away from British rule rather than grant political equality to blacks in the former colony. Those whites took "the position that the racial incidents [in Birmingham] rob the United States of the right to take positions on the Southern Rhodesian problem, whose racial scene is currently more tranquil than that of the United States."[56]

The Afrikaans-language press of Capetown seized upon the Birmingham violence as a way of strengthening its "ideology of apartheid," reported Consul General Charles N. Manning. The Afrikaans daily *Die Burger* contrasted the "Birmingham riots with the peaceful transfer of a church" in South Africa from "White to Coloured [sic] possession. Both South Africa and the 'mighty U.S.A. that has gone out of its way to teach us the lesson of how to manage race relations' have something to learn about human relations, the editorial said, implying that South Africa's choice of apartheid preserves racial peace."

The Afrikaans weekly *Die Landstem* suggested, with some glee, that G. Mennen Williams, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the Kennedy administration, "'clean up the mess in Alabama and other parts of the U.S.A. before poking his nose in our affairs'" — a reply to Williams' remark that "southern Africa was becoming fertile ground for communism because of race issues." Still, conceded Consul General Manning (as had other American diplomats), "the news from Birming-

ham had done more "harm already . . . [to] the American image" than anything the hostile Afrikaans newspapers printed.[57]

Use of Dogs Cited

The outrage stirred up by Birmingham appeared elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. The U.S. Embassy in Accra advised Washington, in a message written in cabalese, "U. S. has been taking heavy beating in Ghana over Birmingham disorders . . . . Although it laboring the obvious, cannot refrain from pointing out consequent serious effects Birmingham on our influence in Ghana."[58] Birmingham's racial troubles were "given prominent space in most papers" in Madagascar as breaking news, cabled an American diplomat. Grasping at straws, he cited as a positive development a caption attached to the famous photograph of a police dog snapping at a black demonstrator because the caption maintained that the picture had "shocked Americans."[59]

Photographs and commentary about the use of police dogs on Negroes also excited anti-American opinion in Guinea and Chad. The government of Guinea had decreed a moderate line be taken by the nation's media when reporting the racial troubles in Alabama. Nevertheless, the American Embassy in Conakry learned that African Americans teaching in that nation "have been struck by apparently deep impression pictures [of] dogs attacking Negroes have made on educated Guineans"; furthermore, attempts to put those events in context left "many Guineans still disturbed and not really satisfied with explanation."[60]

The educated elite and the media of Nigeria were "extremely exercised" over the racial violence in the United States, whether it involved "the use of dogs in Birmingham or the murder of [Mississippi civil rights leader] Medgar Evers."[61] Perhaps the most devastating criticism came during debate in a provincial assembly in western Nigeria. After placing the United States in the same category with racist regimes in South Africa and elsewhere, one debater then went on to say that those governments "have established a policy of racial discrimination and persecution which in its essential inhumanity surpasses even the brutality of the Nazis against the Jews."[62]

An American diplomat cabled from Nairobi that in Kenya, "U.S. image suffering greatly [as a] result [of the] Birmingham situation"; cited specifically were the "inflammatory headlines, 'Riots Flare in U.S. South—Infants Sent to Jail,' from European-oriented *Sunday Post* and 'Prisons Packed as Southern Negroes Fight Segregation' from *East African Standard*," along with a television news program during which was shown a "vile clip" emphasizing police dogs and fire hoses.[63] In sum, the cable

advised Washington, "Spread of pictures fire hoses, dogs, [and persons] arrested appeared daily" across Kenya today.[64]

It was significant that an American envoy felt it necessary to defend the belief in racial equality in the United States even to a "firmly pro-American" official of Niger. "We noted," he advised the State Department, "the nationwide disapproval [among Americans] of the use of police dogs in Birmingham."[65]

The Birmingham crisis "certainly tarnished somewhat the reputation of the United States as the citadel of democracy" among most Cameroonians, the American Embassy there reported. It offered as evidence the experience of an African American working in the country on a Ford Foundation grant; he was often stopped by "'utter strangers' who asked him in effect, 'Is it really as bad as it sounds?' The reaction was found among townspeople and rural Cameroonians who were "aware of our racial difficulties and curious about them."[66] Still, the damage was not regarded as serious — yet. But the reporting officer attached this caveat, which would be reproduced in a number of such messages from American diplomats:

> A deterioration of the racial situation at home, with violence or bloodshed, or a conspicuous failure on the part of the U.S. government to ameliorate the condition of the Negro could, in the long run, have very deleterious effects on our relations with Cameroon as well as the other countries of sub-Saharan Africa. The headline of the *Press du Cameroun* of August 28 well sums up the danger. It said, "Will the Peoples of Africa still believe the promises made by the United States, if they do not give American Negroes the same rights as white citizens?"[67]

Writing from isolated Burundi, American diplomat Donald Dumont cited the fact that "The widest comment has centered on the photograph of state police [sic] in Birmingham using dogs to combat demonstrators . . . . [A] photograph of a white man using a dog against a Negro brings . . . , apparently, identification with the worst aspects of Burundi's 'colonial' period."[68] In Sierre Leone, where as much as 90 percent of the 2,200,000 population was illiterate, overwhelming numbers of its citizens "were unaware of U.S. racial problems." Nevertheless, an American diplomat wrote, "leaders and opinion-formers are among those cognizant of U.S. racial crisis. Occasional stories appear in local press on racial incidents in U.S., and [there is] no question that discriminatory practices [in the United States] are, and always have been, a liability."[69]

Hostile responses came from some nations above the Sahara. The confrontation in Alabama was covered regularly in Beirut. The U.S. Embassy reported: "Pictures showing a police dog lunging at a young demonstrator, colored school girls pinned to the wall by high-pressure streams of water, or burly policemen hauling a young Negro women to jail have come as a shock to many Lebanese . . . unaware of or apathetic toward racial problems in the United States."[70]

Baghdad newspapers "on several occasions have shown pictures of Negroes being beaten, attacked by dogs, and [with] fire hoses," and most of the photographs bore "inflammatory captions" about "American 'barbarism.'"[71] Kennedy's decision to send troops to Alabama to help restore and maintain public order was portrayed in official media as intended to deprive African Americans of their rights. An example was Baghdad Radio's broadcast that claimed, as had the Communist Chinese propaganda, that

> Kennedy . . . sent 3,000 troops to violently suppress Negroes' demands for equality with whites in Birmingham, Alabama. This is another page of disgrace in mankind's register recorded by U.S. leaders. Is not Kennedy, who . . . sends astronauts into space under pretext of serving mankind, . . . really [a] person of fourteenth century who does not distinguish man's flesh from that of animals . . . ?[72]

Even at a time when criticism was coming from quarters around the world, Washington's patience had its limits. The State Department directed the U.S. Embassy to protest this attack on Kennedy by a news outlet controlled by the Iraqi government.[73]

Asian Press Echoes Criticism

The *Hindu* of Madras did not object so much to the fire hoses — Indians being "familiar with the use of water hoses" against crowds — but "setting dogs against demonstrators" was depicted as "savage as it is revolting."[74] The American post in Bombay telegraphed in June about the play given the story by the Bombay press.

> Many papers, both English and vernacular, front-paged pictures [of] dogs being set on rioters, of Negro women being kicked by white trooper, et cetera. Damage done by these pictures can hardly be overestimated . . . because of immediate emotional impact [and] . . . because they [are] seen by very

large numbers compared to the small percentage of people who read editorials. In news coverage papers generally have played news straight although some have added emotionally loaded captions to pictures.[75]

To make it worse, responses to American racial problems spilled over and colored Indian reaction to other issues. For example, "Fairly widespread sympathy for Castro's Cuba seems also partly related to sensitivity on racial question."[76]

The Indians and Pakistanis agreed on few things. They did agree, essentially, on the shocking news from Birmingham. Almost daily, the Pakistani press published "wire photos showing violence and use [of] police force against Negroes," according to the U.S. Embassy.[77] While editorial commentary about racial turmoil in the United States was "not unsympathetic," the *Pakistan Times* of Lahore thundered that "'men who claim to be civilized have obviously debased themselves by a disgraceful display of racial violence,'" and warned that unless racism was eradicated, "America [was] in for long period [of] 'racial strife at home and increasing humiliation abroad.'"[78]

Reaction in Malaysia was shaped by "extensive press coverage, including photographs of disorders featuring violent anti-Negro actions," reported the American Embassy in Kuala Lumpur.[79] Actually, Malayans were generally sympathetic about the racial problems, according to American diplomats, in part because Malayans lived in a multi-racial society, in part because of the U.S. government's opposition to Jim Crow. Nevertheless, even there the news was damaging America's image, causing people to believe that in the "world's foremost proponent [of] democracy, practice and preaching don't always jibe."[80] The *Times of Ceylon* observed caustically:

> The American Negro problem has been allowed to fester for too long within an overfed and over-complacent body politic; it has become too much of a national malady to permit of piecemeal remedies and legalistic devices. It will require a revolution in thought, a full-scale social adjustment, to settle old scores and old prejudices, which are nearly as old as American history itself.[81]

New Zealanders, tended to hold sympathetic views of Americans, who had come to their aid during the crisis days of World War II; nevertheless they received "pictures of police dogs in action, the use of high-pressure hose, and clubbings against Negro demonstrations [sic]" with

"general distaste," and thus those journalistic reports "somewhat tarnished our image."[82] A considerable segment of the Australian population was uninterested "in this or any overseas problem." Nevertheless, "every Australian who reads a newspaper, listens to the radio or watches TV, must be aware of the issue, because of the wide coverage." During the "Birmingham flare-up," the American post in Canberra reported to Washington, "the use of police dogs in Alabama received heavy photo coverage, as did the pinning of a Negro woman to the ground by a police officer. Both pictures had a solid and unfavorable impact" in Australia.[83]

The press of Japan followed the example of much of the rest of the world in publishing "photos depicting physical brutality in treatment of Negroes of [the] Mr. Bull Connors type, [but] presentation has in general been fair, comments balanced." American officials in Tokyo found "increasing public curiosity" about the racial situation but neither the leaders nor the Japanese people "identified themselves" with African Americans, nor did they "become emotionally involved as has been case in certain other areas of world." Still, Washington was advised that "an intensive 'high-posture' approach" should be eschewed lest existing Japanese interest in racial problems in the United States be intensified.[84]

Covered in Latin America & Canada

There was wide coverage of the racial turmoil in Birmingham by the press of both the right and the left in Latin America; a USIA report said the "non-Communist press" used wire service stories and "restrained headlines" even though they ran "photographs of the police dogs. Leftist and Communist media [exploited] . . . the issue with emphasis on use of dogs against people and on the jailing of children."[85]

Castro's broadcast media were predictably scathing in their comments. Havana Radio denounced Kennedy as a hypocrite whose attitude was supporting "the crimes committed by the Southern racists."[86] Havana television broadcast a documentary film of troops training dogs (presumably in the U.S.) "to kill human beings." This was linked to the use of police dogs in Birmingham with the comment: "The U.S., which has taken in Nazis, Nazi procedures, and Nazi crimes, is also using dogs against men — an idea Hitler thought up."[87]

Jamaican press reaction included "the now notorious photograph of the police dog attacking the Negro demonstrator" and the hostile caption, "White Americans Should Hang Heads in Shame."[88] Uruguay had a very small black population and no pressing racial problems. Nevertheless, the racial disturbances in Alabama and elsewhere in the nation "have been headline news here and developments have been followed on a day-by-day basis."[89]

If São Paulo is any indication, Brazilians, like the Japanese, exhibited general interest but no "strong emotional involvement," according to the Consulate in São Paulo.[90] Its message continued: "Impact of publicity re existence race prejudice in U.S. is definitely negative. However, people here recognize that U.S. authorities are vigorously opposing such prejudice." Local newspapers devoted "a great deal of space" to Birmingham, but — in contrast to the emphasis of the Communist press on the "sensational aspects, including police brutality"— their coverage was factual and "fairly objective."[91]

A USIS-sponsored public opinion poll in Rio de Janeiro found only one in three of respondents had heard of the events in Birmingham. A summary said that "the racial situation in the U.S. is seen as bad, but improving. While it is widely believed that the federal government is doing what it should, it is also felt that the majority of whites in the U.S. are opposed to equal rights for Negroes."[92]

Canadians followed the events in Alabama on television and in the press. The American Consul General in Vancouver cited "restrained editorials" and "sensational news stories and photographs." Newspapers in British Columbia, "one and all, have lamented the 'illness' that afflicts its 'neighbor to the south.' Some have lambasted white Southerners for intolerance, but most have taken the position that. . .Canada should look to its own problems with the Indians and French Canadians." Further evidence of interest was the launching of a fund that was designed to "help pay the legal expenses of U.S. organizations fighting for equal rights."[93]

Europeans Focus on Arrests

American officers in London cabled a description of the prominent play that the British press and international editions of newspapers circulating in the United Kingdom were giving to Birmingham. "Saturday's *Telegraph, Mirror, Herald* and *NY* [*New York*] *Times, Tribune* published identical photo captioned 'Police Dog Leaps at Youth.'"[94] Among the headlines cited were the following: "Dogs Turned on Negroes," "Police Dogs Clash with Children," "Negro Marchers Savaged by Police Dogs."[95]

The Paris press "invariably cited the use of high-pressure hoses and police dogs to disperse the colored manifestants. The large number of arrested, particularly among minors, was underscored."[96] Telecasts, which, unlike the French newspapers, were controlled by the French government, provided "an extensive pictorial account showing both the use of the high-pressure hoses and the dogs, with the colored protesters making no effort to resist the actions taken against them."[97]

Perhaps most striking, however, was the continuing coverage of Birmingham by two magisterial newspapers, *Le Monde* of Paris and the *Times* of London. Beginning on May 4, two days after the first major clash between civil rights demonstrators and the police, *Le Monde* and the *Times* published more than a dozen articles, commentaries, and photographs each about the civil rights campaign in Alabama.[98] (Several stories appeared on *Le Monde*'s front page; the *Times*, as was traditional at that time, reserved its front page for advertising).

The august *Times* published several major articles. In the edition of May 4, for example, the *Times* correspondent, writing under a Washington dateline, reported what happened when 2,500 demonstrators thronged the streets of Birmingham: "Police turned fire hoses on Negroes . . . , and when this failed to disperse them, sent dogs on leashes into the . . . demonstrators, many of whom were young children." The *Times* did concede, however, that the "police refrained from using the hoses on the *smallest* children."[99] [emphasis added] Two days later, reported the *Times*, "President Kennedy was said to be dismayed at the use of dogs and water hoses."[100] Its editorial a week later established that Kennedy had much to be dismayed about: King's campaign was "the first major Negro action to be taken in conscious disregard of the Kennedy Administration" — which had urged the demonstrations be postponed to give an incoming mayor "a chance to assert his more progressive views."[101]

From Finland, Ambassador Carl Rowan, an African American who had made his mark in mainstream journalism before joining the Kennedy administration, cabled that he shared the concern of the State Department and White House "that serious foreign policy repercussions will result from the racial disturbances."[102] Even in distant Finland, Rowan wrote, the "emotional impact [was] great," specifically citing a headline of the arrests of six-year-old children by Birmingham policemen, and forwarding the distressing news that Finns were comparing laws forbidding anti-Jim Crow demonstrations with "South African security law."[103]

Rowan also warned of the impact of Soviet propaganda.

> Soviet broadcasts heard here refer to race strife as evidence of "decay of capitalist society." Broadcasts . . . emphasized that Soviets [were] ahead of U. S. because of "moral strength of Socialist society" where "women and all others are truly equal."
>
> We can expect some Communist success in citing race strife as proof [that the] wave of future [is] with Communists, a notion already too prevalent Finland and elsewhere.[104]

So completely did the Belgian press cover the crisis, reported an American envoy, "that one would almost think that the catastrophe were occurring in a Belgian province rather than in the United States."[105] The damage to American prestige was assessed as substantial. While limited in quantity, the editorials that appeared in the Belgian press were often damning. "Freedom loses its significance," observed the Catholic *Gazet van Antwerpen* May 7, "when in its shadow people are hunted with dogs."[106] Not surprisingly, the "general Belgian attitude" (the American diplomat continued) was "one of disgust."[107]

Norwegian newspapers gave more prominence to the Birmingham crisis than to any other such crisis since the desegregation of Ole Miss in 1962, the USIS advised its headquarters agency in Washington. "The most used picture was an Associated Press telephoto showing a police dog biting a Negro while held on a leash by a white policeman." Several headlines pointed to the use of dogs in the demonstrations and to the arrests of hundreds of children by the police of Birmingham.[108] In less than a week's time, USIS provided an updated evaluation from Oslo that new bombings in Birmingham had "revived front-page, sensationalized articles on the Alabama disturbances."[109]

World Leaders Express "Deep Concern"

The incendiary images produced some of the bitterest criticism of the United States by African leaders. Modern Kenya's founding father Jomo Kenyatta cabled President Kennedy, deploring the "continuing oppression of Negroes" in the American South, expressing "solidarity with American Negro Freedom Fighters in their struggle for human rights," and condemning the "imprisonment [in Birmingham] of Martin Luther King whose only crime is demanding equality guaranteed by American Constitution."[110]

Even harsher was the open letter to Kennedy two weeks later from Ugandan Prime Minister A. Milton Oboté, who complained:

> [A]n iron curtain which has been drawn over the events that have been taking place in Birmingham, . . . The Negroes who . . . have been subjected to the most inhuman treatment, who have been blasted with fire hoses cranked up to such pressure that the water could strip bark off trees, at whom the police have deliberately set snarling dogs, are our own kith and kin. The only offences [sic] which these people have committed are that they are black and that they have demanded the right

> to be free and to hold their heads up as equal citizens of the United States . . . .
>
> We in Africa who have borne the white man's burden for decades and centuries, . . . feel that our own freedom and independence would be a mere sham if our black brethren elsewhere in Africa and in the United States still remain in political, social, and economic bondage.[111]

The 30 heads of state who met in Addis Ababa that year to found the Organization of African Unity adopted a resolution in two parts: the first expressed "the 'deep concern' of the African people over racial discrimination throughout the world, saying they were particularly distressed about the situation in the United States;" the second voiced "'appreciation for the efforts of the United States to put an end to these intolerable malpractices.' It was plain," reported *The New York Times*, "that the Africans had in mind" the incidents in Birmingham though these were not specifically mentioned."[112] Publicly and privately, the Kennedy administration welcomed the resolution from the OAU as mild criticism.[113] It could have been far worse. Furthermore, the resolution, according to the confidential estimation that the State Department provided the White House, was actually helpful in at least one way; it made unnecessary any answer to Oboté, which "would only give renewed currency to [his] open letter of May 23." Oboté, the memorandum continued, "in effect, . . . has been answered by the African Chiefs of State."[114]

It would be misleading to suggest that Birmingham had stirred passions everywhere in the world. In fact, U.S. diplomats reported that the news from Alabama caused no significant problems for the United States in such widely separated nations as Indonesia, Bolivia, Jordan, Libya, Thailand and Nepal. In those states, however, the lack of interest was ascribed to preoccupation with other matters, in their own country or in countries other than the United States (and, in the case of Nepal, to lack of race consciousness and lack of communication facilities).[115] Implicit in such dispatches to Washington (it was sometimes expressed explicitly) was the warning that the situation might well be reversed in the future if racial causes flared up in the United States and a newly hostile government chose to use such incidents to whip anti-American sentiment.

It would be too much to suggest that King's victory had put Kennedy on the run. Certainly Birmingham had prodded Kennedy to take action at last on civil rights legislation. His rhetoric to the contrary, the cautious Kennedy was conscious of his narrow victory over Richard Nixon in 1960 and the power that Southerners in Congress had to delay

or wreck his legislative program. His sympathy for the African American cause notwithstanding, Kennedy wanted deliberate speed and compromises; what King's campaign in Alabama forced him to deal with were confrontation and racial violence, especially violence directed against children, arrayed for all the world to see.

Kennedy Acknowledges World Context

Kennedy broadcast an address to the nation on June 11 that was motivated, in large part, by the Birmingham campaign. That address, which is among Kennedy's best, designated the civil rights struggle as a moral issue in the context of the American Creed, but he acknowledged it was being acted out not just on the national stage, but on the world stage:

> We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it. And we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world — and, much more importantly, to each other — that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens, except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race, except with respect to Negroes? . . . . Next week I shall ask the Congress . . . to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law.[116]

Kennedy's broadcast (and other actions), in the estimation of USIA, helped change "the critical and often highly inflammatory tenor of [international] comment" after Birmingham into "widespread acclaim and support in media comment throughout the free world."[117] If that appreciation was somewhat stronger than was supported by the facts, certainly Kennedy's speech persuaded a number of newspapers around the world to praise him for his leadership, even if some of them regarded his action as belated and, to some degree, forced upon him by circumstances created by King's Birmingham campaign. One particularly startling turnabout appeared in Ethiopia, where the English-language *Ethiopian Herald*, edited by an American-educated Ethiopian, had "used some startlingly vicious and vulgar prose" in an editorial that bore the headline, "Apartheid America."[118] After Kennedy delivered his remarks, however, the editor "completely reversed himself and unreservedly praised the president for his actions and called upon the American people to support him."[119]

Equally certain: Kennedy was not merely responding to strictly domestic pressures, which were enormous, in the aftermath of the Birmingham campaign. He sent confidential Circular Message 2176 to all

American diplomatic posts, announcing that he was asking for new civil rights legislation, and directing envoys:

> [T]o explain to the government to which you are accredited what our problems and policies are with respect to equal rights . . . *The way our government deals with the struggle of our Negro citizens for full equality has a direct bearing on the principles on which our foreign policy rests.* Thus, you have an important positive responsibility in explaining the situation abroad . . . . By making a clear and candid presentation, you can enlist sympathetic understanding and support of free world leaders, many of whom have themselves participated in struggles to change the status quo and improve their societies. Such support, in turn, assists me here at home.[120] [emphasis added]

Secretary of State Rusk followed immediately with confidential Circular Message 2177:

> Administration is keenly aware of impact of domestic racial problem on U.S. image overseas and on achievement U.S. foreign policy objectives . . . . We must assume . . . that racial incidents will continue and their geographic location will spread. Problem is national rather than exclusively southern dilemma.
>
> *Foreign reaction is source great concern. Evidence from all parts of world indicates that racial incidents have produced extremely negative reactions . . . . At best, . . . we have certain amount of time before our racial problem will impinge even more seriously upon our policies and objectives.*[121] [emphasis added]

The images from Birmingham had considerable staying power. More than a year later, for example, references to King's campaign in Birmingham continued to appear in the Mexican press.[122] The references also appeared in the front page coverage accorded remarks of Malcom X who was visiting Africa to drum up support for an initiative to arraign the United States before the United Nations for racism. Insisting to Africans that they should not be misled by the claim of the United States to be their friend, he offered this scathing passage, with its contextual reference to the events in Birmingham in 1963: "Your brothers and sisters in the United States are scorned and bitten by police dogs, they are subjected to every form of oppression and cruelty from the white racists."[123]

Power of International Media Messages

This study deals with the 1963 Birmingham campaign as an event on the world stage. The power of the international media messages about that campaign, especially the power of the images, was not derived from television; in those years before geosynchronous satellites, television images moved too slowly (the film was generally transported aboard aircraft) and, in any event, bypassed most of Africa (and Asia) where such extraordinary passions were stirred up. Radio was a far more powerful news medium in the Third World, but it could not transmit powerful visual images. News and photos of the Birmingham campaign transmitted by the great international news agencies — which had enormous speed, reach, and penetration — were of critical importance in the reactions abroad to the clashes in Birmingham.[124]

The study did not rely upon showing that reactions abroad translated into *mass* effects in the United States. King's victory in Birmingham had put great pressure on Kennedy to finally press for civil rights legislation. Unquestionably, some of that pressure came from abroad, as the words and actions of Kennedy and Rusk demonstrate, and they shaped foreign policy (and domestic civil rights policy) accordingly. Kennedy and his administration had little choice.

The United States was involved in a war of words with its Communist adversaries and in a struggle for the allegiance of new and emerging African and Asian nations; for the citizens of those new states the experience — personal or vicarious — of being beaten by police, of having dogs set upon them, or of recoiling under the lashing streams of powerful fire hoses constituted part of the living memory of life under European colonialism. The task of carrying out that propaganda war was made excruciatingly difficult for American diplomatic and information officers when the snarls of police dogs, turned upon innocents in the streets of Birmingham, echoed 'round the world in 1963.

Endnotes

[1]Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 2.

[2]Measured against the treatments of international perspectives on American racial issues before, during, and after the Civil War, similar scholarship on that topic during the Cold War period is limited and has yet to coalesce as a body of scholarship—in part, no doubt, because the latter is scattered across history, sociology, political science, legal studies, and mass communication. In addition to Plummer's work, treatments in depth include, e.g., Mary L. Dudziak, "Desegregation and the Cold War Imperative," 41 *Stanford Law Review* 1, 61-120 (1988), and "The Little Rock Crisis

and Foreign Affairs: Race, Resistance, and the Image of American Democracy," 70 *Southern California Law Review* 6, 1641-1716 (1997); John David Skrentny, "The Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights: America and the World Audience," *Theory and Society* 27 (1998): 237-285. Dudziak and Skrentny are writing books about the topic. Gerald Horne has urged scholars to take up the topic and has written about it in works with a broader perspective. See, e.g., *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1986), 227, 277-81. Skrentny mentions race and its impact on "America's stature in the world system" in *The Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture, and Justice in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 106-109. Alex Nagy devotes a paragraph to American racial problems in Communist propaganda in "Foreign Embassies in the United States as Communist Propaganda Sources: 1945-1960," *American Journalism* 14 (Winter, 1997): 79. For more detailed (but still scattered) treatment, see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 190, 214-15, 253-54, 293, 472, 474, 477-78, 786, 806; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 16, 94, 101, 134-36, 197-198; David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 90-91, 118, 124, 224, 367-68, 453; and C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd Rev. Edit. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 130-33.

[3]UNESCO estimated in 1961 that there were 30,000 daily newspapers and 22,000 magazines, with a total circulation worldwide of 550,000,000. Wilson P. Dizard, *The Strategy of Truth: The Story of the U. S. Information Service* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961), 120.

[4]Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 259. Kennedy to all U.S. Diplomatic and Consular Posts, Circular Message 2176, June 19, 1963, Social Conditions, United States 14-1 (hereinafter cited as Soc 14 and Soc 14-1, U.S.), Box 4221, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington (hereinafter cited as RG 59, NA).

[5]For example, a crisis produced after an American soldier killed a Japanese citizen in 1957 was of such magnitude that Secretary of State Dulles and President Eisenhower speculated gloomily that it might effectively end the American relationship with Japan. The crisis was defused when the Eisenhower administration handed over the accused soldier for trial in the Japanese courts, and the Supreme Court upheld the government's action; the administration rode out the political storm by lining up support from the Foreign Relations Committees of Congress. The soldier was convicted in a Japanese court and received a three-year suspended sentence. See "Secretaries of State and Defense Review Girard Case," *Department of State Bulletin*, June 24, 1957, 1000-1002. The following sources appear in *Foreign Relations of the United States* [hereinafter cited as *FRUS*], *Vol. XXIII, Japan* (Washington: GPO, 1991); on inflamed Japanese public opinion, Ambassador MacArthur to Dulles, 23 May 1957, 314, n3; on inflamed public opinion in the United States, see Memorandum of a Telephone Conversation Between the President and Secretary of State, 24 May 1957, 316, and Dulles' claim that "certain organizations, such as the American Legion," attempted to whip up anti-Japanese sentiment over the case. Dulles to U.S. Embassy, Tokyo, 5 June 1957, 342-343. Dulles told members of the Foreign Affairs Committees that if the United States failed to carry through with its agreement to allow the Japanese to try Girard, this would throw "doubt upon the value of our agreements and [raise]. . .a storm which might sweep us out of all the Western Pacific." Memorandum of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State and Senator William F. Knowland, Washington, 28 May 1957, 334. For the Supreme Court's ruling, see *Wilson et al v. Girard*, 354 U.S. 524 (1957). The crisis is also discussed in Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), 140-144.

[6]Among those interests were the huge mineral reserves of Africa, an excellent summary of which was published by *U.S. News & World Report*. From sub-Saharan Africa "now comes most of the world's supply of cobalt, columbite, tantalite, and diamonds, 20 percent of the world production of copper, 25 percent of the manganese, 15 percent of the chrome ore and tin, 10 percent of the graphite and lead. Here, too, are large quantities of iron ore, coal, zinc, asbestos, bauxite, tungsten, gold, antimony, vanadium, and gypsum. . .[and Africa's rivers] promise forty percent of the world's usable water power, waiting to be harnessed." But it was not only trade interests. Africa was regarded as "a major storehouse of strategic materials vital to atomic power, jet propulsion, [and] the newest developments of science." Losing access to such resources would threaten the national security of the United States. "Black Africa: Storehouse of Treasures and Troubles," *U.S. News & World Report*, 6 March 1961, 50-51; "Struggle for Africa's Wealth," *U.S. News & World Report*, 12 September 1952, 32. American interests also included strategic sites, the control of which could be threatened by American racial practices. Such happened in 1947, for example, when a major riot broke out after the

governments of the United States and Panama signed an accord covering various defense sites; the Panamanian Assembly refused to ratify that agreement, and American troops were evacuated from the sites. *FRUS* , 1947, 8, The *American Republics* (Washington: GPO, 1972), 910-962, passim. The infamous employment system of the Canal Zone, which designated Gold (essentially U.S. citizens) and Silver (aliens) employees, discriminated against people of color. Secretary of State George C. Marshall became "convinced that Panamanian resentment" over such practices was "a primary cause of difficulty in this Government's political relations with the Republic of Panama and an important background factor in the rejection" of the defense sites agreement by the Panamanian Assembly. Marshall to Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, 7 September 1948, *FRUS*, 1948, 9, *The Western Hemisphere* (Washington: GPO, 1972), 681.

[7]Richard Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1990), 59-74, passim. After his first arrest, King announced that he would not pay the fine and would remain in jail over Christmas; instead, he allowed himself to be released on bail, fearing the damage to the movement if it became known that one of the Albany Movement's leaders, also incarcerated, was on the verge of a mental breakdown. *Ibid.*, 60-61. Pritchett recalled that a coalition of segregationist whites and conservative blacks secretly arranged King's second release on bail, over his protests, thus denying him martyrdom. Howell Raines, *My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South) Remembered* (New York: Bantam Books, 1978), 399-400.

[8]*SCLC Newsletter*, September, 1962, 2.

[9]Milton Viorst, *Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960s* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 215; see also, Howard Zinn, *Albany: A Study in National Responsibility* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1962), 26.

[10]David Halberstam, *The Children* (New York: Random House, 1998), 432.

[11]Quoted in David L. Lewis, *King: A Biography*, 2nd edit. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 173-174..

[12]Here I rely upon William M. Kunstler, *Deep in My Heart* (New York: William Morrow, 1966), 174; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 217-218; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 403.

[13]On the activities at the churches, see police detectives' reports, Files 24, 25, Box 9; Files 17, 18, Box 12; Files 2, 3, 4, 5, Box 13. Eugene Connor papers, Civil Rights Collection, Birmingham Public Library (hereinafter cited as BPL). Kunstler, *Deep in My Heart*, 189. Estimates of crowd sizes during this period by the police detectives tend to support Kunstler's observation about the few volunteers, although somewhat greater numbers did agree to register to vote and to integrate white churches. See, e.g., B.A. Allison to Chief of Police Jamie Moore, 18 April 1963, and R.S. Whitehouse to Moore, 26 April 1963, File 4, Box 13, Connor papers, BPL. Not for the first time had King courted arrest; on his arrests as causes célèbres, see William Robert Miller, "The Broadening Horizons: Montgomery, America, the World," *Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Profile* , ed. C. Eric Lincoln (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970), 53-55; Lewis, *King*, 96-97; and Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 399-400.

[14]Kunstler, *Deep in My Heart*, 190.

[15]See "Race Relations—A Candid Report," n.d. [June-September, 1965], Files 1 and 2, Box 3, and File 29, Box 2, Albert Boutwell papers, BPL, for various drafts.

[16]A copy of Huie's speech at Birmingham's Congregational Church, 28 April 1964, is in File 1, Box 13, Albert Boutwell papers, BPL.

[17]*Time* reported the attack in Mississippi in "The Education of the South," 7 April 1961, 45. In a survey motivated by protests against the use of dogs in Birmingham, the Associated Press cited their deployment to prevent several hundred young people from entering the downtown area of Providence, Rhode Island, and "against ban-the-bomb demonstrators" in London. Police dogs were used in Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, the District of Columbia, Houston, Miami, New Orleans, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, and by the Virginia and Delaware state police, among others. Quoted in *Congressional Record* Appendix, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (1963), A3122.

[18]Quoted in "The Sharpeville Massacre," *Time*, 4 April 1960, 19. Fire hoses were turned against a mob of segregationists in New Orleans. "Louisiana Nightmare," *Newsweek*, 28 November 1960, 20.

[19]On weapons that "got hated" out of police hands, see Garry Wills, *The Second Civil War: Arming for Armageddon* (New York: New American Library/Signet, 1968), 93.

[20]*New York Herald Tribune*, 13 May 1963, n.p., quoted in *Congressional Record*, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., (1963), 8294.

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]Donald Dumont to State Department (hereinafter cited as State), 3 August 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4221, RG 59, NA. In the specific case of civil rights clashes in the United States, the American Embassy in Khartoum reported "a surprising awareness" of civil rights in the United States even in two "rather remote western provinces" of the Sudan. Karl F. Mautner, First Secretary, to State, 14 July 1963, Soc. 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[23]In 1964, USIA estimated that Africa had only 40 stations and 277,100 sets, because of some combination of poverty, technological lag, and governmental policy. The Near East and South Asia had 40 stations and 938,800 sets. In the Far East—outside Japan—there were 103 stations and 3,267,200 sets; by contrast, Japan had 738 stations and 17,710,000 sets. Wilson P. Dizard, *Television: A World View* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 293, 297.

[24]Early experiments with transmission of news film, frame by frame, via shortwave and cable proved technically unworkable or too costly. Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel, 1911-1967* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 306-307. Thus, news film was transported from the United States to overseas nations no faster than air transport. Satellite communication of news events started to come into its own during the funeral of President Kennedy in November of 1963. Portions of the funeral were broadcast live to the television systems of 23 countries with a combined population of more than 600 million people. That impressive figure fell far short, however, of the 104 nations to which "ABC, CBS, NBC, and UPI News film sent countless hours of film covering all aspects of the presidential assassination via jet transports." "Television's Largest Audience," *Broadcasting*, 1 December 1963, 56-58. Cost was also a factor. A Telstar transmission of two and a half minutes from the Western United States to Europe cost more than $50,000 and required complex technical arrangements. "Mormon Choir-Mt. Rushmore Telstar Segment Costly, Complex," *Broadcasting*, July 30, 1962, 54; see "Satellite Rates Too Steep: USIA," *Broadcasting*, 30 April 1962, 49. On early technical glitches, see, e.g., "Back in Business," *Broadcasting*, 14 January 1963, 58. Not until 1965 was the first geosynchronous satellite used for commercial communication, Intelsat I, launched for international service. Andrew F. Inglis, *Behind the Tube: A History of Broadcasting Technology and Business* (Boston: Butterworth Publishers/Focal Press, 1990), 396, 399-400. During much of this period, visuals of news events of international interest probably came to Africa and Asia primarily as wire service still photos, imported newspapers and magazines, and motion picture newsreels, not television.

[25]"Tidings," *Time*, 28 March 1977, 81; Dizard, *Strategy of Truth*, 69-70.

[26]As can be seen in the compilations of *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (hereinafter cited as *CDSP*) of various articles, photographs, and cartoons about racial problems in the United States that were published by *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. May 1-7, there were four; May 8-14, seventeen; May 15-21, thirty-three; and May 22-28, twenty-one. Since the Soviet press took its cues from *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, there were undoubtedly many more such articles and cartoons published by other Soviet periodicals, not to mention the items broadcast by Soviet radio and television.

[27]*CDSP*, 15, no. 18 (1963), 41.

[28]*CDSP*, 15, no. 18 (1963), 41.

[29]Trans. and pub. in *CDSP*, 15, no. 19 (1963), 20.

[30]*CDSP*, 15, no. 19 (1963), 30.

[31]Kohler to Secretary of State Dean Rusk (hereinafter cited as Rusk), 16 May 1963, Soc 14 U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[32]*CDSP*, 15, no. 22, 40.

[33]*CDSP*, 15, no. 22 (1963), 40

[34]*CDSP*, 15, no. 20 (1963), 33.

[35]*Pravda*, 30 May 1963, 3, trans. and pub. (excerpts), in *CDSP*, 15, no. 22 (1963), 24.

[36]*Pravda*, 29 June 1963, 6, trans. and pub. (complete text), in *CDSP*, 15, no. 26 (1963), 23.

[37]United States Information Agency [hereinafter cited as USIA], "Reaction to Racial Tension in Birmingham, Alabama," 13 May 1963, research report 85-63 (A), 11, Box 15, RG 306, NA.

[38]Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 807.

[39]Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 240.

[40]Marshall Green, American Consul General, Hong Kong, to State, 5 July 1963, Soc 14-1 U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] New China News Agency (hereinafter cited as NCNA), 5 June 1963, pub. in *Survey of China Mainland Press* (hereinafter cited as *SCMP*), No. 2996 (1963), 29. (The date is the date of dissemination by mainland Chinese media; the issue number is *SCMP's*.) Articles were compiled by the U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong, and disseminated by *SCMP*. Many of the articles were from NCNA's English-language dispatches.

[43] NCNA, 18 June 1963, *SCMP*, No. 3004, 32. The dispatch also proclaimed "the ruthless persecution of U.S. Negroes by the Kennedy administration and the U.S. racists" and reported the murder of NAACP leader Medgar Evers in Jackson, Mississippi. *Ibid.*

[44] American Consulate, Hong Kong, to Rusk, 9 August 1963 Soc 14-1 U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[45] NCNA provided the text of Mao's statement, which he delivered at a reception for African visitors, in a dispatch dated 8 August 1963, *SCMP*, No. 3038 (1963), 26-28.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Williams' remarks were quoted by Lacey, American Consulate, Hong Kong, to Rusk, 11 October 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4221, RG 59, NA. Mao credited Williams with persuading him to issue the statement. NCNA, 8 August 1963, *SCMP*, No. 3038 (1963), 27. Most of the dozens of announcements and articles took the line that Chinese leaders and non-Chinese dignitaries welcomed, supported, and, in some cases, extended Mao's statement. For a series of articles along this line (apparently generated as a result of a mass rally on 12 August 1963), see NCNA, August 12, 1963, *SCMP* No. 3040, 30, 32, 40, 42. See also, Ch'en Yuan, "In the Country of the So-Called 'Born Free,'" *Red Flag*, 19 November 1963, *Selections from China Mainland Magazines*, no. 395, 18-23. Mao's attack did not go unanswered by the American press. *Time* reprinted an editorial cartoon from the *Minneapolis Tribune* that depicted a jovial Mao assuring a stooped, sad-faced black man: "Of course, there's no discrimination in China. Here we enslave everybody." "The Self-Bound Gulliver," *Time*, 13 September 1963, 30.

[48] Meyer, U.S. Embassy, Beirut, to State, 14 June 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[49] Margaret Joy Tibbetts, First Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Antwerp, to State, 27 May 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[50] American Legation, Budapest, to State,29 June 1963, Soc 14 U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[51] *Ibid.* The French Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* accused Kennedy of lusting after electoral votes in the South rather than adhering to principles in which he professed to believe. Norbert L. Anschuetz, Counselor, U.S. Embassy, Paris, to State, 8 May 1963, Soc 14-1 U.S., Box 4220. For responses from the Communist press in New Zealand and Brazil, see, respectively, Anthony B. Akers, U.S. Embassy, Wellington, to State, 1 August 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4221, and Daniel M. Braddock, Consul General, São Paulo, to State, 29 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222. These documents are in RG 59, NA.

[52] *New York Herald Tribune*, 13 May 1963.

[53] Palmer, U.S. Embassy, Lagos, to Rusk, 5 March 1963, Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4222., RG 59, NA.

[54] The assessment of the activities of *Essor du Katanga* was provided by Jonathan Dean, American Consul, Elisabethville, to State, 10 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[55] Paul F. Geren, American Consul General, Salisbury, to State, 2 July 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] Manning to State, 2 July 1963, Soc 14 U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA. See also William H. Witt, First Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Capetown, to State, 14 May 1963, Soc 14 U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA, citing *Die Burger's* display, on its front page, of a photograph of a Birmingham policeman who was directing a large dog to attack a Negro demonstrator.

[58] Mahoney, U.S. Embassy, Accra, to Rusk, 17 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[59] Ferguson, U.S. Embassy, Tananarive (later capital of the Malagasy Republic), to Rusk, 17 May 1963, Box 4221. Ten days later, Ferguson cabled Washington that the reaction "to events in Birmingham much stronger in provinces" than in the capital of Tananarive. "Was constantly questioned about to [the] point where I found it necessary to. . .deal frankly with whole race question in U.S. Later told my remarks had some effect, but feeling runs deep." One provincial prefect told the American diplomat that "he was physically afraid [to] visit U.S." Ferguson to Rusk, 27 May 1963. These documents are in Soc 14-1, U.S., RG 59, NA.

[60]Cassilly, U.S. Embassy, Conakry, to Rusk, 27 June 1963, Box 4221. On Chad, see Robert J. Redington, chargé d' Affaires, *ad interim*, U.S. Embassy, Fort-Lamy [Ndjamena], to State, 8 March 1964, Box 3249. These documents are in Soc 14-1, U.S., RG 59, NA.

[61]John P. Meagher, U.S. Consul, Ibadan to State, 31 July 1963, Box 4220, Soc 14-1, U.S., RG 59, NA. An earlier telegram pointed that "substantial improvement. . .in Nigerian public understanding of progress in US [sic] relations is being rapidly eroded by reports, photographs, and TV coverage from Alabama." Palmer, U.S. Embassy/USIS, to Rusk, 8 May 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[62]John P. Meagher, American Consul, Ibadan, to State, 19 June 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[63]Vass, U.S. Consulate/USIS, Nairobi, to Rusk, 10 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[64]*Ibid.*

[65]Mercer Cook, U.S. Embassy, Niamey, to State, 21 May 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA. Cook reported that the *Temps du Niger* had "quoted a statement to the effect that conditions in Alabama are as bad as those in South Africa." Cook asserted, in response, that "the support of the federal government and the majority or white Americans. . .points up the contrast between the U.S. and South Africa." *Ibid.*

[66]Charles K. Moffly, Counselor, U.S. Embassy, Yaoundé, to State, 6 September 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[67]*Ibid.*

[68]Dumont, Burundi, to State, 3 August 1963.

[69]Halvor O. Ekern, chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*, U.S. Embassy, Freetown, to State, 2 August 1963, Soc 14, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[70]Meyer, Beirut, to State, 14 June 1963.

[71]Roy M. Melbourne, chargé d'Affaires, *ad interim*, U.S. Embassy, Baghdad, to State, 25 June 1963, Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[72]*Ibid.*

[73]Ball, State, to U.S. Embassy, Baghdad, 23 May 1963, Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[74]Franklin, American Consulate, Madras, to Rusk, 21 May 1963 , Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4222., RG 59, NA. (Earlier, Franklin observed that the "stories and pictures" from Birmingham "cannot fail [to] impress local dark-skinned population and feed Sov prop [Soviet propaganda] line." Franklin to Rusk, 9 May 1963, Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4222., RG 59, NA.)

[75]The Bombay Consulate's message to Rusk was garbled in transmission and was repeated in U.S. Embassy, New Delhi, to Rusk, 27 June 1963, Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[76]*Ibid.*

[77]McConaughy, U.S. Embassy, Karachi, to Rusk, 15 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[78]*Ibid.* See also, McConaughy to Rusk, 8 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, and American Consul, Dacca, to State, July 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221. Both messages are in RG 59, NA.

[79]Baldwin, U.S. Embassy, Kuala Lumpur, to Rusk, 25 June 1963, Soc 14, U. S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[80]*Ibid.*

[81]USIA, "Recent Worldwide Comment on the U.S. Racial Problem," 19 July 1963, research report R-135-63 (A), 8, Box 16, RG 306, NA.

[82]Anthony B. Akers, U.S. Embassy, Wellington, to State, 1 August 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[83]Donald W. Lamm, First Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Canberra, to State, 5 July 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[84]Edwin Reischauer, U.S. Ambassador to Japan, to Rusk, 28 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[85]USIA, "Reaction to Racial Tension in Birmingham, Alabama," 13 May 1963, research report R-8563 (A), 9, Box 15, RG 306, NA.

[86]*Ibid.*, 10.

[87]*Ibid.*

[88]William B. Grant, Second Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Kingston, to State, 18 May 1963, Soc 14-1 U. S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[89]Willis, U.S. Embassy, Montevideo, to State, 19 June 1963, Soc 14-1,U. S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[90]Daniel M. Braddock, Consul General, São Paulo, to State, 29 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[91]*Ibid.*

[92]USIA, "Rio de Janeiro Looks at Birmingham," June, 1963, research report R-126-63 (R), i, Box 16, RG 306, NA.

[93]Avery F. Peterson, American Consul General, Vancouver, to State, 17 July 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA. Peterson added that racial conditions in the United States were more publicized than elsewhere in Canada because of the greater percentage of minorities living in Vancouver and Victoria. "A 'sensational' racial story and a 'juicy' photo. . .will usually find a place in most papers here." Also cited were unconfirmed reports that some Americans residents in the area had been "bitterly attacked by their Canadian 'friends'" because of the maltreatment that "U.S. Negroes are experiencing." *Ibid.*

[94]Clark, U.S. Embassy/USIS, London, to USIA, Washington, 5 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[95]*Ibid.*

[96]Anschuetz, Paris, to State, 8 May 1963.

[97]*Ibid.*

[98]See issues of *Le Monde* (Paris) for Birmingham-related articles: 4 May 1963, 4; 5-6 May 1963, 3; 7 May 1963, 2; 9 May 1963, 8; 10 May 1963, 1, 3; 11 May 1963, 1, 3; 12 May 1963, 3; 14 May 1963, 1, 3; 15 May 1963, 3; 16 May 1963, 6; 17 May 1963, 5. Articles on the Birmingham crisis appeared in 1963 in the *Times* (London) on: 4 May 1963, 9; 6 May 1963, 12; 8 May 1963, 12; 9 May 1963, 12; 11 May 1963, 8; 13 May 1963, 12; 14 May 1963, 12; 15 May 1963, 10; 16 May 1963, 11.

[99]*Times* (London), 4 May 1963, 9.

[100]*Times* (London), 6 May 1963, 12.

[101]*Times* (London), 13 May 1963, 13.

[102]Rowan, U.S. Embassy, Helsinki, to State, 21 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[103]*Ibid.*

[104]*Ibid.*

[105]Tibbetts, Antwerp, to State, 27 May 1963.

[106]*Ibid.*

[107]*Ibid.*

[108]Ethel A. Kuhn, Acting Public Affairs Officer, USIS, Oslo, to USIA, Washington, 10 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[109]Marshall W.S. Swan, Public Affairs Officer, USIS, Oslo, to USIA, Washington, 16 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[110]Vass, American Consulate/USIS, Nairobi, to Rusk, 10 May 1963, Soc 14-1,U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA. The State Department interpreted Kenyatta's message as "obviously [an] election ploy." Rusk to American Consul, Nairobi, 11 May 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4222, RG 59, NA. Criticism of Kennedy and the United States also came from outside Africa. For example, Neville Ashenheim, Jamaican Ambassador to the United States, asked a message be conveyed to President Kennedy from the Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of Jamaica. It said, essentially, that while there was no question that Kennedy believed in racial equality, "stronger and more decisive action [was needed] to blast away the injustice against the black and dark-skinned." Ashenheim to Angier Biddle Duke, Chief of Protocol, U.S. State Department, 31 May 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[111]Oboté to Kennedy, 23 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4220, RG 59, NA. In mid-June, Oboté praised Kennedy for "your courageous stand in the nation-wide broadcast you made on Tuesday evening in which you made it clear that in your view all men are created equal, and that the rights of

every man are diminished when the rights of one man or race are threatened." The statement was contained in a letter, dated 17 June 1963, from the Ugandan Ambassador to the United Nations to President Kennedy; a copy of the verbatim text was cabled to American diplomats in Uganda. State Department to U.S. Embassy, Kampala, 15 July 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA. Without mentioning Kennedy, Oboté questioned American motives not long after. "How could the Americans expect Africa not to doubt them if in America democracy was not for the colored, the rule of law was not for the colored, and the dignity of man was not for the colored." W. Kennedy Cromwell, Second Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Kampala, 31 July 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4221, RG 59, NA. Naturally, there were messages from heads of states and others praising Kennedy for his efforts to end racial discrimination. See, e.g., Francisco J. Orlich, President of Costa Rica, to Kennedy, 4 July 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4220, RG 59, NA.

[112]*New York Times*, 29 May 1963, 16.

[113]*New York Times*, 26 May 1963, 1. American diplomats also received much the same message from at least one African government. See John Karefa-Smart, Minister of External Affairs, Sierra Leone, 4 July 1963, transmitting a statement approved by the Cabinet of his government that fully endorsed the resolution adopted at the OAU meeting. The message from Karefa-Smart was forwarded to the State Department by Halvor O. Ekern, Counselor, American Embassy, Freetown,5 July 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA. For the interpretation of the State Department and USIA that "foreign leaders and newspapers have tempered their criticism with the realization that the problem is complex and that the federal government is genuinely trying to solve it," see *New York Times*, 29 May 1963, 16.

[114]For the State Department's confidential appraisal of the OAU resolution, see William H. Brubeck, Executive Secretary, to McGeorge Bundy, White House, 31 May 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4222, RG 59, NA.

[115]See, respectively, Jones, U.S. Embassy, Djakarta, to Rusk, 24 June 1963; Stutesman, U.S. Embassy, La Paz, 24 June 1963; Macomber, U.S. Embassy, Amman, to Rusk, 29 June 1963; Jean M. Dery, Public Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy, Tripoli, to State, 28 August 1963; Philip Axelrod, Counselor for Political Affairs, U.S. Embassy, Bangkok, to State, 5 July 1963; Stebbins, U.S. Embassy, Katmandu, to Rusk, 22 June 1963. These documents are in Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, U.S., RG 59, NA.

[116]*Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy*, 1963 (Washington: GPO, 1964), 468-469.

[117]USIA, "Recent Worldwide Comment ," i. The lingering criticism and skepticism tended to be motivated by the belief that Kennedy's actions and comments were too belated. *Ibid.*, 3.

[118]Edward M. Korry, American Embassy, Addis Ababa, to State, 29 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[119]*Ibid.* The Emperor of Ethiopia also "expressed the opinion that [Kennedy's] two recent statements on this situation were masterpieces and should proved a potent factor in helping to alleviate the situation." *Ibid.* A similar response came from *Acción* of Uruguay, which was frequently critical of the United States. Willis, Montevideo, to State, 19 June 1963. Several papers in Lebanon even compared Kennedy with Abraham Lincoln. Nevertheless, Kennedy did not escape criticism. While crediting him for taking some initiative, *Sawt al Uruba* asserted, correctly, that Kennedy "had been forced to do so under mounting Negro pressure for equal rights." Meyer, Beirut, to State, 14 June 1963.

[120]Kennedy, Circular Message 2176.

[121]Rusk to all American Diplomatic and Consular Posts, Circular Message 2177, 19 June 1963, Soc 14-1, Box 4221, RG 59, NA. Most diplomats apparently carried out the instructions dutifully, but a few, most notably Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith, protested. From New Delhi, Galbraith argued that "such [a] crash effort," would be counterproductive so long "as it is genuinely evident that the Administration is doing its best" to advance the black cause. As citizens of a "once caste-ridden country," Indians realize that the "price of progress is a measure of civil disturbance." Galbraith to Rusk, 20 June 1963, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 4221, RG 59, NA.

[122]Darrell D. Carter, U.S. Embassy, Mexico City, 30 July 1964, Soc 14-1, U.S., Box 3250, RG 59, NA.

[123]Malcolm X's speech in Ghana, reported by Agence France-Presse, appeared in *Corriere della Somalia*, 19 May 1964. Francis N. Magliozzi, First Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Mogadiscio, to State, 19 May 1964, Soc 14 U.S., Box 3249, RG 59, NA.

[124]As did, to some lesser degree, dispatches from some correspondents from foreign newspapers working in the United States.

Great Ideas

A Call for an International History of Journalism

By Mitchell Stephens

There is, to be blunt about it, no such thing as a history of American journalism. The development of American journalism was influenced — if not transformed, if not determined — in every period by developments outside of America. To pretend otherwise, as we too often do in our courses and our writings, is to distort history. American journalism did not, in any sense, develop alone.

This fact about journalism history does not have to be understood historically. It is plain enough in our own era. In what country today do the media evolve in isolation?

The United States may currently be the major source of forms of communication that wander across borders. However, the United States is certainly not immune to having its borders transgressed. People — Rupert Murdoch and Tina Brown are examples — have brought strategies here from elsewhere. Corporations — Bertelsmann, Murdoch's News Corporation — have made significant incursions. Ideas are borrowed from foreign publications, foreign television shows, foreign Web sites. Would, to pick a notable example, NPR be possible without the BBC or CBC?

It was, of course, ever thus. Indeed, this point would have been as obvious to American journalists in earlier centuries as it now is to journalists elsewhere in the world, who feel the influence of CNN or Newsweek. For America then was much more the recipient than the source of ideas.

My favorite example currently hangs on my living room wall. I purchased it for a couple hundred dollars a few years ago. It is a small and not particularly rare newspaper called *Domestick Intelligence*, or *News both from City and Country* and published in London on August 5, 1679. This newspaper was of significance in England at the time, both for its emphasis upon local news and its precocious sensationalism. (My copy includes a story about a man who was stabbed in a bar fight).

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However, my interest in *Domestick Intelligence* derives primarily from its publisher. The name printed at the bottom of the second and last page is "Benjamin Harris." In other words, this newspaper was published by the man who would, 11 years later, publish America's first newspaper. That newspaper, *Publick Occurrences*, looked quite a bit like its older brother on my wall. It can best be understood, as can its publisher, as a product of late 17th century London journalism.

And this is hardly the only evidence of the absurdity of delaying the start of the history of journalism, as we too often do, until 1690, when a newspaper first appears in England's American colonies. As Félix Gutiérrez has reported, a news publication, though not a periodical, had been printed in Mexico City in 1541. (This too, of course, was the younger sibling of a much older European newsbooks.)

The word that probably appeared most in the titles of early colonial newspapers was "gazette." Boston's first newspaper was the *Boston Gazette*; New York's first, the *New York Gazette;* Maryland's first, the *Maryland Gazette*; and Benjamin Franklin took over and made a success for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. This too, of course, was a borrowing from Europe. The most influential newspaper in France in the 17th century was the *Gazette de France*. The most influential newspaper in England in that century was the *London Gazette*.

Indeed, this is a word that turns up over and over again throughout the history of the newspaper. Russians actually call their newspapers "gazeta." The word can be traced back to handwritten newssheets—sometimes known as *gazette*—distributed weekly, as I have shown in my book *A History of News*, in Venice as early as 1566.

Venice in the mid-16th century is, consequently, one place a history of journalism, at least newspaper journalism, might begin. I believe a genetic examination of every newspaper in America, along with every newspaper published anywhere in the world today, would turn up some DNA that can be traced back to these handwritten weeklies.

The content of American newspapers in the colonial period and beyond consisted primarily, as we know, of items taken from European newspapers. To be an American newspaper printer in 1760 in a port city, consequently, required pouring through as many English, French and other foreign newspapers as it was possible to get off the ships. Those papers were generally more advanced in reporting methods, in typography, in design and in writing style than American newspapers. They remained so into the 19th century. Our editors, consequently, borrowed more than stories from them. European newspapers provided the forms from which American journalism was cast and recast.

Consider just the most obvious contributions from just one city: London. London had a "penny press" before New York had a "penny press." Reporting developed in London many decades before it came to America. ("To report" was a British term for taking shorthand, and the first regular American "beat" — police court — was inspired, in part, by police court coverage in London.) America's first tabloids were unabashedly based on London's tabloids. (The term itself was borrowed from the British pharmaceutical industry.) And a late-20th century wave of tabloid journalism in the United States might arguably be traced to the purchase of the *New York Post* by an Australian who had mastered the art form in London.

Given the extent of European influence upon the American press, it is certainly not surprising that the three men who might reasonably be labeled the most creative forces in American journalism were all men who had an opportunity to look at European newspapers before they were loaded onto ships. Two — James Gordon Bennett Sr. and Joseph Pulitzer — were, as were so many great *American* journalists, immigrants to this country. The third, Benjamin Franklin, spent formative years in England.

To attempt to separate the history of American journalism from developments overseas seems, therefore, as foolish as attempting to separate the history of journalism in Ohio or Kansas from what was happening in Boston, Philadelphia and New York. Yet, we do — over and over again. There are relatively few American journalism historians who are familiar with the history of English or French or German or even Mexican journalism. A kind of provincialism — which would not be tolerated in literature departments, theater departments, art departments, science departments — is routinely accepted in journalism departments. American journalism history is dangerously and unflaggingly parochial.

However, in this too, although we may be the worst offenders, we are not alone. I have met Dutch and French journalism historians who know an awful lot about the history of, for example, English journalism, but not more than a handful of them. Most English, French, Spanish, Russian, Japanese or Italian journalism historians are specialists only in the history of journalism in their own countries.

As a result, we have a lot of local journalism histories that underplay or ignore the countless notions that drift across borders in what has always been a cosmopolitan business. As a result, many of the major stories in this history—stories that are inescapably multi-national — remain untold.

The development of the direct ancestors of the newspaper in early-modern Europe — before and after the Venetian gazettes — is an example. I have done some (primitive) work in this area. There is much

more to do. But it is research that will require comparison of early news publications in Italy, Germany, Belgium and Holland, at the very least.

The printed newspaper is at the heart of all of our journalism histories. German researchers recently found evidence that one of what we had thought of as the two earliest European printed newspapers, Johann Carolus' *Strasburg* weekly, had actually begun publication four years earlier — in 1605. In some fields this is news that would instantly race around the world. But I wouldn't be surprised if it takes decades to find its way into journalism history textbooks in the United States and elsewhere outside of Germany. This is the sort of thing most of us simply do not know about our field.

Our narrowly nationalistic journalism histories, in other words, not only obscure crucial connections and lineages and ignore telling comparisons, they leave us unable to approach fundamental questions. We must internationalize our conferences, our journals, our graduate programs and our research. Borders have never held journalism back. It is time for journalism historians to begin crossing those borders.

Book Reviews

The collection in this issue has a purely historical flavor. The editor's choice is Gerald Baldasty's critical study of E.W. Scripps, both tyrant and genius, but remembered always as the visionary who launched the concept of chain ownership. The book is a must read for journalism historians. Edd Applegate, whose works have been reviewed in this journal in previous years, comes to us this time as a reviewer. He takes a look at yet one more contribution by the ever prolific John A. Lent of Temple University.

Tamara Baldwin examines Patricia Dooley's ideas on how journalism grew from a pastime to a career. Jeff Keshen, one of our new contributors, tackles the sensitive subject of the tense historical relationship between the media and the military. Kathleen Endres reviews a new work on the history of women's magazines. Jon Enriquez takes a look at a recent study of the press and the presidency. The collection concludes with two significant and new studies. Fred Fedler offers his thoughts on a new work dealing with Wilbur Schramm, and Elliott King reviews a work looking at one of America's oldest and most effective African American newspapers. Enjoy.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓Editor's Choice

E. W. Scripps And The Business Of Newspapers

by Gerald J. Baldasty, The University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, 1999. 213 pp.

One of the most intriguing aspects of this work is the title. When one considers the approach that Scripps took to the newspaper world, the definition of the word "business" is in reality the word as defined by Scripps himself. As this detailed and well-researched work points out, Scripps, while accepting the need for business plans and cost controls, rejected some of the main institutions of the newspaper world, namely targeting affluent if not well-off readers and allocating at least half the newspaper's pages over to paid advertising.

Scripps, as the author points out, was interested only in reaching working class readers who, along with a limited number of advertisers, would support his endeavors mainly through paying subscription rates supplemented by limited advertising income. Yet Scripps was an impor-

tant enough figure in media history to have his name live on at the journalism school at Ohio University.

The major strength of this work is Baldasty's sensitivity to the peculiarities of the personality who called himself E. W. Scripps. It was his vision which laid the groundwork for the establishment of the chain newspaper. Yet, to his credit, the author refuses to either lionize or demonize this visionary. In Baldasty's interpretation, he is neither a hero nor a cad. His vision is tempered by his almost malicious treatment of his employees. The revolving door so aptly described by Baldasty has some parallels to modern day athletes who regularly jump from baseball teams such as the Milwaukee Brewers to the seemingly endless pockets of folks like George Steinbrenner.

However, it remains that ballplayers leave teams to increase already inflated salaries. Reporters and editors left Scripps with the single purpose in many cases of staving off starvation. In many ways, this represented a serious contradiction in Scripps' view of the world. While he actively supported many causes espoused by organized labour, he resisted the entry of unionized workers into a Scripps newsroom. It is a contradiction that begs analysis but does not appear in this book.

The book is neatly divided into nine chapters. Not surprisingly since the author is a noted historian, the story of Scripps and his battles are told chronologically. As Scripps followers already know, he began his career along with his brother in Detroit in 1873 when he was issued a single share of the *Detroit Evening News*. With James Scripps' refusal to make his brother a reporter on the *News*, E.W. left for Cleveland to edit the *Cleveland Press*. His ambitions were only curtailed in 1908 when he turned over the business aspects of the Scripps empire to his son.

There are moments in Baldasty's tale when one begins to wonder if Scripps actually understood any form of Victorian capitalist enterprise. Time and time again, one or more of his journals faced financial disaster. In fact, as the author carefully points out, a number of Scripps newspapers never made the grade. Scripps was a contradiction of the American business ethic in a time period that worshipped greed and produced the likes of Mark Hanna, Jay Gould, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller and, in the news business, cutthroats such as William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer. Yet Scripps recognized an untapped market when he saw one — the great working class emerging in urban America in the closing years of the 19th century.

Baldasty's reluctance to take on any form of analysis of Scripps as a human being is one of the major strengths of this work. Yes, he did lend money to starving employees while denying them raises in salary, but the Scripps that Baldasty details is almost a machine, one concerned with

accounting for every penny entering the office, and more importantly, the pennies that left. Here is a man with a keen sense of his competitors, one who actively competes with them while turning away advertisers and publishing centrally collected material, sometimes at the expense of covering local stories. Yet Baldasty aims directly at the impact that the ownership of multiple outlets had on the industry at the time. There is little doubt that Scripps began to ship pooled information to his growing chain to keep costs under control. However, as the author notes, that was hardly the central issue. Scripps' creation laid the ground for the modern wire service and press agencies that continue to exist today, agencies without which the contemporary media would struggle to continue to exist.

Make no mistake. In spite of its rather short length, Baldasty's study is a dense study. You cannot easily skim over the pages or ignore the tables and graphs. This is a work with considerable scholarly merit. Its intent is to inform its readers as much as is possible in as short a space as possible about this incredibly complex person and the legacy he left. This is the kind of challenge that Gerald Baldasty has faced in the past. And in expected and remarkable fashion, he has once again contributed to the great history that the media in this country are only beginning to discover. *E.W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers* is not just for journalism historians and journalism students. It belongs on the shelves of our many business schools as well. This is a work of importance that needs to take its rightful place in the historiography of the modern state.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

The Baltimore Afro-American 1892-1950

By Hayward Farrar, Greenwood Press: Westport, CT, 1998. 220 pp.

When Hayward Farrar was a child growing up in Baltimore, reading the *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper was a central part of his education. Not only did the *Afro*, as it is popularly called, provide early reading material; it helped him to see the world in a way that the mainstream press never could.

Farrar's experience, of course, is not unusual. The ethnic and religious press serve as mechanisms for members of a specific community to talk to each other. They help define issues and communal identities. Watching their grandparents or parents pour over an ethnic newspaper is a formative cultural experience for many children.

The Baltimore Afro-American 1892-1950 is Farrar's history of one of America's most important African American newspapers. In 1950, the last

year covered in this effort, the *Afro-American* had 11 editions serving New York to Richmond, plus a national edition. In that year, the newspaper grossed more than $1.5 million, making it one of the country's most successful black enterprises. Although the *Afro-American* may now be best known to the general public as the home of the Hall of Fame sportswriter Sam Lacy, who helped pave the way for Jackie Robinson to break the color barrier in baseball, the newspaper played leadership roles in every aspect of life, crusading for economic development, justice, political power and civil rights. Opinionated and specific in its point of view, the *Afro-American* reflected the issues of concern to the black community in Baltimore and up and down the eastern seaboard.

As with many small newspapers established at the end of the last century, the *Afro-American* is not just the story of a newspaper, but the story of a strong-willed family as well. First established in 1892 by the pastor of the Sharon Baptist Church, a bankruptcy in 1896 led to the ownership of the newspaper falling into the hands of its printer John H. Murphy Sr. in 1897. His family has controlled the newspaper ever since.

Murphy was the son of Maryland slaves who had earned his freedom by serving in the Union army during the Civil War. Despite fierce competition, in which more than half a dozen newspapers vied for the patronage of Baltimore's African American community, by 1913 the *Afro-American* had emerged as a leader in the field, with a circulation in excess of 7,500, and a national reputation. After John Murphy's death in 1915, his son Carl dramatically increased the circulation and economic stature of the newspaper.

Farrar, an assistant professor of history at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, has organized the book thematically, describing the *Afro-American's* involvement with key issues facing the community. He argues that the *Afro-American* worked hard to develop a black middle class in Baltimore and its viewpoints generally reflected middle class sensibilities. He traces the political allegiances of the community as it shifted from Republicans to Democrats in the 1930s and 1940s and the heated debates among national leaders such as Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Dubois.

Unfortunately for Farrar, the bulk of the personal papers of the Murphy family have been lost. Consequently, he was unable to draw sharp rich portraits of the people involved with the newspaper. The bulk of the information in the book has been drawn from the newspaper itself — Farrar read every edition — and the book reads to some extent like recapitulated newspaper articles.

At the beginning of the century, when the *Afro-American* was emerging as a leading voice of the community, African Americans in

Baltimore seemed to be caught in the worst of all worlds. They faced the prejudice of the Deep South and the ghetto structure of northern communities. At the end of the century, Baltimore benefits from a strong middle class black community that provides most of the city's political leadership. The *Afro-American* was instrumental in the creation of that middle class. And Farrar's history of the newspaper provides important insight into that process.

>Eliott King, Loyola College (Baltimore)

The Beginnings of Communication Study in America: A Personal Memoir by Wilbur Schramm.

By Steven H. Chaffee and Everett M. Rogers, eds., Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA 1997. 206 pp.

This is an inspiring work! The book traces the evolution of communication theory and research, showing where we are, how we got there, and why it's important. In the process, the work fosters an appreciation for research and conveys a sense of optimism and excitement. The book describes the development of new fields and formulation of new theories: fields and theories now studied by thousands of students — the field of group dynamics, the development of content analysis, and theories involving the two-step flow, spread of innovations, and effect of one-sided vs. two-sided arguments, for example.

Wilbur Schramm died in 1987, and friends found the manuscript for a book he had titled *The Beginnings of Communication Study in America.* Schramm's manuscript emphasized the contributions of four social scientists: Harold D. Lasswell, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Kurt Lewin, and Carl I. Hovland. Editors Steven H. Chaffee and Everett M. Rogers completed the manuscript, adding a chapter about Schramm and a chapter that describes the spread of communication studies in universities.

Schramm said his book was "about scholars who led a significant revolution in social research on communication in our own century." The four had such an impact that Schramm considered them the "forefathers" of modern communication scholarship. Schramm devoted a chapter to each forefather. All four attended excellent universities, were broadly interdisciplinary, were trained in another field, and then turned to communication study. All four influenced young scholars, and three of the four founded a research institute or program. Schramm traced their education, training, early work, development as scholars, and contributions to the field.

Hovland was an experimental psychologist, Lewin a social psychologist, Lazarsfeld a sociologist, and Lasswell a political scientist. Schramm calls their years before 1940 "mostly preparation." The forefathers' most productive years were chiefly the 1940s and 1950s. Then, they examined the communication activities in terms of their own disciplines. While writing the first six chapters, Schramm rarely mentioned himself, yet he was not a mere observer. Chaffee and Rogers conclude that Schramm was "the greatest scholar in our field" and "the founder of communication study, not only in America but in the world."

Chaffee and Rogers explain, convincingly, that Schramm saw the new material for the field emerging from the work of the four forefathers and provided a unifying vision. Schramm created the first university departments in the new field, taught the first generation of new scholars, and wrote the first books that defined the field. At Iowa, Schramm established the world's first mass communication doctoral program in a school of journalism: a general model for mass communication study at universities. He later moved to the University of Illinois, then to Stanford, where he became director of Stanford's Institute for Communication Research. His program became famous for the doctoral students it produced: students well-trained in quantitative methods. After reaching 65, Stanford's mandatory retirement age, Schramm moved to Honolulu as director of the East-West Institute for Communication.

The book does not simply praise, however. It portrays its subjects as humans with human frailties. Lewin, one of the world's great psychologists, was deeply modest and overcame great adversity. He was Jewish, and forced to flee Germany in 1933. Lasswell was shy and not a good lecturer. Lazarsfeld was hearty, humorous, warm, energetic, humble, and full of ideas: an exciting speaker but not a great writer — and not especially good at handling administrative details. Hovland developed cancer and, when he was no longer able to work "went home, sat down in his bathtub, filled it with water, and . . . let himself drown." Schramm spent much of his time alone, writing, and "was not close to his children during their growing years." He had many co-workers and admirers but few close friends.

This book could be assigned as a text in entry-level courses on college teaching in the field of journalism and mass communication. It could also be assigned in the introduction to graduate studies, and in introductory courses in theory and methodology. In addition to describing the field's beginnings, the book conveys a sense of the importance and excitement of communication research.

>Fred Fedler, University of Central Florida

The Media and the Military: From Crimea to Desert Strike.

By Peter Young and Peter Jesser, St. Martin's Press: New York, 1997. 391 pp.

The massive expansion of the Internet and cellular phones and technological advances such as remote cameras linking up to satellites for world-wide transmission all appear as the latest phase of a post-World War II communications revolution truly heralding the arrival of Marshall McLuhan's "global village." One might reasonably expect that, as a consequence, governments and their militaries would have more difficulty in concealing truths. Yet as Peter Young and Peter Jesser make clear through several case studies, authorities have, in fact, managed and manipulated the flow of information during wars with increasing sophistication.

These authors come to the topic of wartime information management with impressive credentials: both have military and media experience. Young also served with Australian and American intelligence services and was an assistant military attaché in Saigon. Their research is impressive, based as it is upon a wide array of published accounts, government records, and newspaper reports. Their thesis, persuasively argued, is that since the end of the Second World War, the nature of conflict has changed. As a result, so too have the perceived obligations of the media and the public to their country in wartime.

Young and Jesser contend that the introduction of nuclear weapons made large-scale war between the major powers unthinkable. Instead, since 1945 the trend has been towards "limited wars." Since these conflicts do not raise concerns over "national survival," a longstanding "social contract" between citizens and their government dissipated which said that support would be automatically and unyieldingly extended no matter the costs. With the demise of that "contract," military and civil authorities have implemented ever-more rigid controls over the media, especially during the initial phases of a conflict so that massive force could be applied to subdue quickly a less powerful foe, thus leaving journalists to criticize only after victory was achieved and thus have little negative impact upon public opinion.

Young and Jesser spend their first two chapters providing an overview until the end of World War II. They note that during the Crimean War and the American Civil War, a relatively unfettered press sometimes provided stories that caused consternation within military circles, such as writing gruesome descriptions of warfare that, it was said, discouraged

recruitment. By the end of the century, Lord Kitchener, who commanded British forces in the Boer War and who loathed the press, drastically curtailed their access to the battlefield. By World War I, regulations controlling the movement of and copy released by correspondents became more rigid. Yet during this conflict and the World War II, censorship rules were respected by the press not only out of fear over the consequences of breaking these regulations, but also because general agreement prevailed that in these wars of "national survival," everyone should get behind the cause. As such, several military commanders in both world wars came to view correspondents as allies in their struggle to keep the home fires burning brightly.

The belief within military and government circles that the press would remain uncritically supportive in times of conflict continued into the post-war period even though warfare became more limited in scope and no longer involved the matter of national survival. Young and Jesser map out the deteriorating relations between the media and the military, starting with the decolonization struggles against the Americans in Korea and the French in Algeria and Indochina. They demonstrate the same process with Britain's occupation of Northern Ireland, as British journalists increasingly questioned their government's version of events and eventually generated outrage from the Thatcher administration for interviewing members of the Irish Republican Army. But according to these authors the major turning point was the Vietnam War when a largely uncensored and, they argue, legitimately critical press, ended up as singled out by numerous American political and military leaders as responsible for deteriorating public support for this campaign and eventually for America's humiliating withdrawal.

The belief that the media could no longer be trusted prompted a new approach by western governments starting in 1981 with Britain's expedition to retake the Falkland Islands from the Argentineans. The remoteness of this location forced the media to depend upon the military for transportation. Only 12 journalists and two press photographers were accredited to join the expeditionary force. Stories were vetted by military censors and bad news was often delayed. Indeed, it took more than three weeks for pictures of the destroyed British ship, the Sheffield, to reach England. Often in the place of independent press reports, the public received official statements from government and military spokespersons containing deceptions, such as the claim that the Argentinean ship, the General Belgrano, was attacking, rather than, as many later contended, retreating from Britain's fleet when it was destroyed.

As a result of the Vietnam War experience, the American government adopted the British model of tight control over the press during its limited wars in Grenada, Panama, and then, with the greatest skill, during Operation "Desert Storm" against Iraq. The U.S. public was provided with exaggerated accounts of Iraqi strength as well as the pinpoint accuracy of American missiles that, contrary to claims made in official military press conferences, did kill numerous Iraqi civilians. So managed were the movements of and reports from journalists that in the absence of contrary information, correspondents came to accept and project the demonized portrayal of the enemy leadership propagated by the American government.

Strengthening the conviction of western governments to implement extensive control over the press was the experience during the American-dominated United Nation's peacekeeping mission to Somalia. When it became clear that the U.N. - U.S. force was not going to easily quell the local opposition, a relatively unencumbered press began to focus on what it said was ill-conceived strategy.

Moreover, after the press furnished pictures of dead American soldiers being kicked and spat upon by the enemy, public demands for a withdrawal quickly overwhelmed the initial idealism to feed the millions of starving Somalis that had first prompted Operation "Restore Hope." Consequently, U.S. authorities once again imposed rigid controls over the press and managed to disseminate significant deceptions to American citizens during the country's next military venture in Haiti.

Young and Jesser have written an important book clearly demonstrating that despite the explosion in communication technology, citizens are not necessarily better informed about life and death policy decisions. However, it should be noted that *The Media and the Military* is too focused upon Britain and the United States, provides too much background to each case study, too much chapter summary, and excessively restates its central thesis. The book could have been trimmed by 50 pages without losing any quality. As well, towards the end, the authors mention the potential of the Internet to open up information flows, but they do not explore this in any detail despite its tremendous potential to seriously compromise state-imposed censorship. Still, Young and Jesser effectively and chillingly remind readers that the battle for free expression in the so-called free world is something that, to this day, citizens must vigorously fight to defend.

>Jeff Keshen, University of Ottawa

The Press and the Modern Presidency: Myths and Mindsets from Kennedy to Clinton.
by Louis W. Liebovich, Praeger: Westport, CT, 1998. 256 pp.

During the postwar period, the relationship between the news media and the presidency has undergone significant change. Louis Liebovich attempts to describe and explain this evolving relationship in this volume. While he is largely successful in identifying the important changes, he does not explain the underlying forces that shape the relationship. This book is more like good journalism than good history.

Liebovich usefully reports on the major changes and milestones in the evolving relationship between the media and the presidency. He describes the increasing news emphasis on primary elections, changing attitudes about the media, the structural demands of television news which induce it to focus on a single person (the President) instead of a group (Congress), the growing importance of visuals in news stories, a greater interest in candidate personalities instead of issues, and charges of liberal bias among reporters. A fine comparative description of presidential press strategies serves as the narrative framework.

The book is sprinkled with important insights and questions about important issues facing reporters and editors. For instance, what prevented reporters from investigating the John Kennedy assassination? What considerations should guide the use of confidential sources? How should the needs of a free press interact with the needs for confidentiality or national security? How skeptical or respectful should the press corps be towards a president? Should the media provide what the people want (personality stories) or what they ought to have (issue stories)?

The book's major flaw is that it fails to discuss why changes occurred in the press/presidency relationship. This emphasis on reporting change instead of explaining it undercuts some of the more pointed insights. As a result, the book becomes merely a narrative of largely unconnected milestones driven mostly by the individual press strategies of individual presidents. Moreover, the president-centered narrative largely overlooks seminal changes in media history.

During the period, television networks assumed a dominant position in journalism; the newspaper industry contracted and hundreds of papers folded; journalists as a group became better educated and increasingly professionalized; a new generation of reporters gradually entered the profession; radio news was marginalized; a handful of publications and networks came to set the agenda for most news organizations; the role of advertising changed significantly in all media; technological advances

reshaped the work of journalists; and local television news assumed increasing importance. Yet Liebovich overlooks or gives only glancing attention to these events. Similarly, Liebovich pays little attention to the dramatic changes in political structures during the period.

Until 1960, national political parties relied on state and local party instruments to deliver information about candidates to the electorate. After 1960, the news media took on much of this function. Liebovich ignores this shift. He correctly identifies the growing importance of the presidential primaries over time, but ignores the party rules changes that drove that change, and understates the dominant role played by primaries as early as 1964.

He briefly mentions the influence of the federal election reforms of the 1970s, but completely overlooks factors such as the decline in party affiliation. Liebovich's arguments are often undercut by internal contradictions. He also frequently loses historical perspective, describing certain problems as unique to particular presidents when in fact these problems were faced by previous incumbents (some such problems have been faced by every president).

The selected bibliography is wide-ranging, but there are many seminal sources which he overlooks, particularly in the areas of media history and criticism. Among the scholars whose names do not appear in the bibliography are Erik Barnouw, Edward Bliss, Noam Chomsky, Edward Jay Epstein, Herbert Gans, Todd Gitlin, Michael Murray, Thomas E. Patterson, Austin Ranney, Michael Schudson, and Mitchell Stephens.

Most troubling from a historian's point of view is Liebovich's casual attitude toward sources and footnotes. There are only 43 footnotes in the entire book. While footnotes are not necessarily required for sound scholarship, the subject matter here cries out for them. The brief historical sketches especially require more substantial source identification. Particularly annoying is Liebovich's failure to give sources for some of the more sensational charges which he describes as accepted historical fact. For instance: Jacqueline Kennedy accepted money to ignore her husband's infidelities [page 24], most New Left activists became Reagan supporters in the 1980s [page 61], David Eisenhower was a key White House source for Bob Woodward [page 73]).

This attitude toward sources undercuts Liebovich's historical sketches. They are generally sound, though they naturally suffer from their brevity, and sometimes deteriorate into glaring errors. The writing style is competent, though it too suffers from occasional infelicities of style. This book should not be considered the last word on the changes in

the press - presidency relationship in the postwar period. It would be most useful as a starting point for discussions of the media's role in that changing relationship.

>Jon Enriquez, Georgetown University

Taking Their Political Place: Journalists and the Making of an Occupation.

By Patricia L. Dooley, Greenwood Press: Westport, CT, 1997. 184 pp.

In light of recent history when the media for a time made Monica Lewinsky a household name, it is enlightening to read Patricia Dooley's book in which she asks the question, "How did journalists get the job of disseminating political communication to the public?"

In the earliest days of this country's newspapers, the roles of journalist and politician were often blurred, with newspapers being heavily influenced by political thought or being avowed political organs, a trend which continued into the early part of the 19th century. However, a transformation of sorts, would occur that would lead to boundaries being formed that would separate the work of journalists from the work of politicians. This transformation would manifest itself in journalists distancing themselves from politicians and assuming the role of providing the public with political information.

In her book, Patricia Dooley attempts to determine when and how these barriers were erected between the roles and duties of journalists and those that politicians perform. She conducted a longitudinal study spanning three time periods and analyzed a variety of communication by and about journalists of the periods. The periods under study included 1704-1800, the American Revolution period; 1800-1830, the Era of Good Feeling; and 1870-1890, the end of the 19th century — periods in history that represent major shifts in the political environment. Her primary research tools included 260 newspapers prospectuses, 14 libel trial transcripts and related printed materials, and 200 biographical profiles of newspaper proprietors, publishers, and editors from the periods under review. In addition to these primary sources, Dooley used an impressive array of secondary sources to provide the context for her research.

From a qualitative analysis of these primary sources, Dooley found evidence that early on, journalists began positioning themselves and their papers to be the disseminators of political information for the public. Her

examination of prospectuses of newspapers makes it clear that publishers, editors, and conductors of newspapers used these as a place to plant and then nurture the idea that giving the public political information was part of the duty of the newspaper. Very often in the prospectuses this idea was linked to the loftier ideals of meeting the needs of people in a democracy.

A significant point that many editors and proprietors minimized or ignored in these staterooms was their own affiliations to a particular political party or their own political aspirations. Editors took pains to assure the public that despite their own affiliations, they could remain independent. One editor who exemplified this stance was Alabama Territory printer Peter Bertrand, who in 1819 assured readers of the Clarksville (Tennessee) *Gazette* that his feelings would be in unison with the "well wishers to their country's cause," and that although his principles would always be Republican, ". . . no blind devotion to party, shall ever divert him from the truth and candor, or induce him to stain his columns with personal abuse."

In the libel trial transcripts and related printed materials from these periods she examined, Dooley found nearly all of them included statements regarding the duty of the press to report on and monitor the conduct of politicians. Dooley points out that since these transcripts and printed materials related to them were often widely distributed, sometimes in the form of pamphlets as well as through newspapers, their impact on society went beyond the trial itself and helped create the boundaries and domain of journalists as disseminators of political information.

What makes this work different from many of the works dealing with the development of journalistic practices is the framework of the sociological theory of work and occupations the author uses. She provides an overview of relevant theory and relates it to journalists. From this body of work, she indicates that the more control members of an occupational group have over processes and resources, the more occupational power they amass and their survival depends on their ability to adapt to changing elements in their social system.

Dooley's work will provide journalism historians with provoking evidence that journalists from the earliest periods were indeed able to adapt to the changing political climate and position themselves in such a way as to survive and even prosper.

>Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

Women and Mass Communications in the 1990s: An International, Annotated Bibliography.

By John A. Lent, ed., Greenwood Press: Westport, CT, 1999. 528 pp.

This bibliography is an addition to the compiler's previous volume, *Women and Mass Communications: An International Annotated Bibliography*, which was issued by the same publisher in 1991. This volume focuses on all kinds of literature about women and mass communications. As Lent writes in the preface, "Included are all mass media, such as publishing, radio, television, film, magazines, newspapers, video, and computerized systems, and affiliates, such as advertising, public relations, and wire services." He has not included literature from interpersonal communication, language and communication, and speech communication, however. Lent has included literature about women and mass communications from all parts of the world, including Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America, and South America, among other continents and regions.

The first chapter focuses on the literature about women and mass communications from a global and comparative perspective. The second chapter examines the literature that pertains to Africa and the Middle East. The third and fourth chapters present the literature that pertains to Asia, Australia, and Oceania, and Europe, respectively. The fifth chapter examines the literature that pertains to Latin America and the Caribbean, while the sixth chapter focuses on the literature about women and mass communications in North America. Chapter seven concerns the more recent literature for each of the first six continents and regions up to publication of the book. The volume ends with a helpful authors and subject index.

Each chapter divides the literature about women and mass communications into the following: general studies, historical studies, images of women, women as audience, women practitioners, and women's media. The "images of women" section includes representation, portrayal, and coverage of women in media; pornography; sex roles; and sex stereotyping. The "women practitioners" section includes women working in mass media (anecdotes, experiences, successes, and struggles for equality in their jobs). As the title suggests, Lent has emphasized the literature presented and/or published in the 1990s. However, he has included some literature that was presented and/or published before 1990 but was not included in the previous volume.

According to Lent, the 'book provides an overall survey of the most important (sometimes even the less important) materials on women and mass communications." Indeed, in addition to citing literature from the usual sources (journals and books), Lent cites literature that has been

presented at various conferences and conventions (the American Journalism Historians Association, the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, the Association of Interactive Feminist Radio Communications, the International Association for Media and Communication Research, and the International Communication Association, to name a few).

Most citations have been annotated without comments on their worth. Some citations, such as edited works, contain longer annotations. All citations have been arranged alphabetically by the author's name or, when the author's name was not listed, by the article's title. All citations have been numbered consecutively. This volume as well as the previous one should be examined by anyone who researches and/or writes about women in mass communications, or by anyone who is interested in learning what topics others have researched, presented, and/or published.

Compiler John A. Lent, a Professor at Temple University, is the founding editor of the *International Journal of Comic Art* and editor of *Asian Cinema*. He has authored and/or edited more than 50 books and monographs.

>Edd Applegate, Middle Tennessee State University

Women's Magazines, 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press.

by Nancy Walker, Bedford-St. Martin's: Boston and New York, 1998. 274 pp.

Part of a series designed to let readers study the past as historians do, Nancy Walker's little but pricey ($35) volume offers a nice introduction to the women's magazines of the 1940s and 1950s. The book is divided into two sections. The first part provides a general overview of women's magazines and women's roles during those two decades and the other offers documents drawn from the periodicals of the day. The documents cover six topics: World War II, women and the workplace, marriage and motherhood, homemaking, fashion and beauty, and critiques of the women's magazines.

The greatest number of the documents are drawn from the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*, although there are also selections from *Woman's Home Companion*, *Mademoiselle*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Redbook*, *Coronet*, *McCall's*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Seventeen*. Walker includes an essay, "Your Wife Has an Easy Racket!," from *American Magazine*, although that periodical was not listed as one of the magazines from which she said she drew material. Critiques of the women's maga-

zines were published originally in *New Republic*, *American Mercury*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Reporter*, *America*, and *National Review*.

Although the book is designed to cover 1940 to 1960, the 1950s get short shift in this volume. Almost two-thirds of the documents are drawn from the magazines of the 1940s. And that is too bad because, as Walker herself writes, "As the 1940s became the 1950s, the postwar emphases on consumerism, home ownership, and the nuclear family intensified, while at the same time so did the Cold War and the Communist witch hunts." The emphasis on the 1940s is never explained in the introduction or any of the essays that preface the documents, nor does Walker explain the criteria for the selection of documents.

This is not to say that the selections are inappropriate. Many of the documents were written by such well-known personalities of the day as novelist Pearl Buck, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and novelist Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Walker provides identifying information on such individuals but fails to offer details for the authors (mostly women) of the majority of the documents included. These individuals, Walker writes, were either members of the editorial staffs of the magazines or freelance writers.

In her introduction, Walker emphasizes the importance of advertising to the magazines and the creation of the gender roles. To that end, she includes eight advertisements primarily from the 1940s as illustrations in the book. Each document section gets at least one advertisement except for the one that deals with women and the workplace. The section on fashion and beauty gets the greatest number of illustrations, including an especially interesting one for Kotex sanitary napkins, and two illustrations from the magazines themselves. It is this section which best shows the potential this book had for capturing the sense of the women's magazines of the day, by offering stories and advertising as well as a few of the layouts. This is missing from the other parts of the book. That is unfortunate because it limits the usefulness of this book in journalism history classes. Students of journalism history, special topics classes on women's magazines and/or images of women in the media, or general women's studies classes would be better advised to save their money and go to the library and see the magazines themselves. That way, they would get a clearer idea of the magazines from both the 1940s and 1950s.

>Kathleen L. Endres, University of Akron

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For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term **history** shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing but not necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. History should be viewed not in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a significant and time-conditioned human past.

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Editor's Note

Media in the 20th Century

This issue's articles focus on 20th century media history — from hand-drawn illustrations to the Internet; from gender discrimination to sports boosterism, plus a Great Ideas interview with one of today's best-known figures in television news.

In "Discriminating Photographs from Hand-drawn Illustrations in Popular Magazines," Michael Brown asserts that turn-of-the-century magazines used photographs to add realism to magazine content. In contrast, hand-drawn illustrations were used to support the magazines' role as a place to promote an appreciation for fine art. The images that accompany Brown's article demonstrate beautifully the value of illustrations in contributing to a publication's content.

By analyzing the role of three major California Japanese-American newspapers during World War II, Takeya Mizuno creates a valuable discussion of self-censorship in the media. Although the U.S. government applied pressure to the newspapers to support anti-Japanese sentiment, says Mizuno, it was actually the Japanese-language newspapers themselves that conformed their messages to the government's viewpoint. The Japanese-language newspapers understood that economic survival dictated compliance with the government's point-of-view.

Social change brought about by the introduction of the pill in the 1960s was a formidable challenge for the Seven Sisters, the major U.S. magazines catering to a female audience. How did magazines that had strongly supported motherhood shift their coverage to give women accurate information about the new birth control methods that became available? Dolores Flamiano covers this shift in the women's magazines' thematic focus in her article, "Covering Contraception: Discourses of Gender, Motherhood and Sexuality in Women's Magazines, 1938 - 1969."

In 1960s Atlanta, an important economic shift took place, as the city decided to court the Braves professional baseball team. The role the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution* played in supporting the move, with few questions asked, is chronicled in William B. Anderson's article, "Sports Page Boosterism: Atlanta and Its Newspapers Accomplish the Unprecedented." The Braves' move was, of course, also a very important event in the life of AJHA member Leonard Teel, whose devotion to the Braves is matched only by AJHA member Jean Palmegiano's devotion to the New York Yankees.

Great Ideas this issue offers an interview with NBC News' Tom Brokaw. Michael D. Murray presents an overview of Brokaw's career as well as insight from a personal interview Murray conducted with Brokaw as part of Murray's research for a book on the history of NBC News.

Book Review Editor David Spencer's Choice this month is Lawrence N. Strout's important analysis of the *Christian Science Monitor's* coverage of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Added to the Editor's Choice are book reviews examining important historical subjects, including Marshall McLuhan, Barbie Zelizer's photographs of the Holocaust, and reaction to the issues that evolved from the Rodney King incident in Los Angeles.

Please remember, readers, that the Fall 2000 ***American Journalism*** will be a wonderful Special Issue on Media Technology, coordinated by Guest Editor David Mindich of St. Michael's College.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

2001 DOCTORAL DISSERTATION AWARD

The AJHA Doctoral Dissertation Award, given for the first time in 1997, is awarded annually for the best doctoral dissertation dealing with mass communication history. A cash award of $300 will accompany the prize.

Eligible works shall include both quantitative and qualitative historical dissertations, written in English, which have been completed between January 1, 2000, and December 31, 2000. For the purposes of this award, a "completed" work is defined as one which has not only been submitted and defended but also revised and filed in final form at the applicable doctoral-degree-granting university by December 31, 2000.

To be considered, nomination packets must include:(a) one copy of the complete dissertation; (b) four copies each of the following items (i.) either a single chapter from the dissertation or a research paper written from it [not to exceed 50 manuscript pages, not including title page, notes, charts or photographs]; (ii.) a 200-word dissertation abstract; and (iii.) the dissertation table of contents; (c) a letter of nomination from the dissertation chair/director or the chair of the university department in which the dissertation was written; and (d) a cover letter from the nominee indicating a willingness, should the dissertation be selected for a prize, both to attend the awarding ceremony and to deliver a public presentation based on the dissertation at the 2001 American Journalism Historians Association Annual Convention, October 4-6, 2001 in San Diego, CA.

Nominations, along with all supporting materials, should be sent to: Prof. David Abrahamson, Chair, AJHA Doctoral Dissertation Award Committee, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, 1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208.

The deadline for entries is a postmark date of February 1, 2001.

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Discriminating Photographs from Hand-Drawn Illustrations in Popular Magazines, 1895-1904

by Michael Brown

American magazines at the turn of the last century presented their audiences with a variety of photographic and hand-drawn illustrations that accompanied the texts of articles. Scholars have observed that photographs were more closely associated with the "real" natural world while hand-drawn illustrations were associated with art. The question asked in this study is whether magazines consistently used illustrations with texts in ways that discriminated between photographs and hand-drawn illustrations. The analysis indicates that magazines used images in ways that supported the artistic nature of hand-drawn illustrations and the realism associated with photographs.

The number of images printed in the press increased dramatically during the last decade of the 19th century. An unprecedented quantity of visual information was available and the consumption of images became a basic means of understanding our emerging modern society.[1] The key technological innovation that made the publication of vast numbers of images easy and affordable was the half-tone printing process. Half-tone images, photomechanically reproduced, provided accurate representations of both photographs and artwork and eliminated the need for woodcut artists. The half-tone process provided a cost-effective way for the print media to publish images, and by the 1890s photographs and hand-drawn images appeared

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regularly in a variety of publications.[2] S. I. Scandlin in *Scientific American* emphasized the impact of the half-tone:

> When it is remembered that thousands of printing presses in every quarter of the civilized world are pouring out, with photographic accuracy, steady streams of illustrations, covering every field of investigation, and at a cost so low as to make them everywhere available, its power as an impelling agent in world progress becomes apparent.[3]

Magazines took advantage of the printing opportunities offered by the half-tone in the late 1880s, and many published both photographs and hand-drawn illustrations. Generally, photographs and hand-drawn images held different values in our culture during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and these values were reflected in the magazines.[4]

Photographic images were primarily associated with factual, evidential documentation of the natural world while hand-drawn images were viewed as art or expressions of the creative inner world of human experience. Magazines documented the natural world by offering their readers photographs and presented art by illustrating articles with hand-drawn works of popular artists. The affiliations of photography with realism and hand-drawn images with art were the result of the cultural and institutional forces that shaped these relationships.

Scholars today recognize that published images are controlled and shaped by their affiliation with texts and institutions. Edward Said claims these affiliations are what define and control the meaning of cultural objects such as images.[5] Maren Stange provides a good summary of this perspective when he states that images are "set in relation to a written caption, an associated text, and a presenting agency" and therefore take on meaning within particular rhetorical frameworks.[6] Placing images within the written texts of magazines provided the rhetorical framework that shaped the meaning of photographs and hand-drawn images in the magazines. This paper examines the relationships between the texts of magazines and the accompanying illustrations as a way to identify the influence of magazine texts on the perceived differences between photographic and hand-drawn images.

Magazines and Images

Robert Kahan found that the half-tone was first used to reproduce art, not photographs.[7] In the 1880s magazine editors wanted to present their audiences with the elegance and grace of art, and the defining

characteristic of art was "that the work be accomplished by hand."[8] Editors found they could add art to their magazines by using the half-tone to reproduce original hand-drawn images.[9]

The half-tone process made the work of illustrating articles more appealing to artists because it eliminated the intervening woodcut artist and allowed the artist's original work to be published.[10] Almost any artistic medium could be reproduced, which provided more artistic freedom and individual autonomy. Many artists illustrated for the magazines because of the financial support and the opportunity to show their work to large audiences.[11]

Illustration was described as "the most living and vital of the fine arts" with "the most able and contemporary artists."[12] Many of America's finest artists, including Christy, Gibson, Glackens, Leigh, Moran, Pyle, Remington, and Wyeth, worked as illustrators, and several popular artists earned five-figure salaries for their work.[13] In 1896, William Coffin summarized the contemporary view of hand-drawn illustration in *Scribner's*: "It serves a useful purpose in the propagation of a love of art among people . . . in homes distant from the art-centres."[14]

Figure 1
Hand-drawn illustration from Booth Tarkington, "Middle West," *Harper's Magazine* 106 (December 1902):106.

Many art scholars who study the use of hand-drawn illustration describe this period as the "golden age" of American artistic illustration, a period that helped establish an important and unique American art movement.[15] According to a literary critic of the times, hand-drawn illustrations were best suited for literary works such as poetry, fiction, and drama, and artists who illustrated nonfiction were described as "designers in monochrome who

fairly rival the dullness of the photograph without attaining its depressing accuracy."[16] (See **Figure 1** for an example of a typical hand-drawn illustration.)

During the early use of the half-tone, photography's "corpse-like literalness" was judged initially to have little artistic worth, so editors did not publish many photographs.[17] During the last quarter of the 19th century, the value of photographic images increased as magazines became important sources of information. Photographs were widely accepted by audiences of the 19th century as "real," giving photographs documentary and evidential power.[18] The photograph revealed "everything the observer sees, and even more than everything . . ." and the photographer became an information gatherer.[19] Corporations, government, science, popular education and the press were among the institutions that used and benefited from the evidential power of the photograph.[20] In 1904 in *Scientific American* Professor William Rigge of Creighton discussed the photograph's precision as evidence. He hypothesized it was possible to obtain the exact date of a photograph by examining the details within it. After analyzing a photograph of Creighton Observatory taken several years earlier, he concluded, "I can answer with an assurance and accuracy superior to that of the photographer himself if he could be found and interrogated: Tuesday, May 2, 1893, at 3:06 p.m."[21]

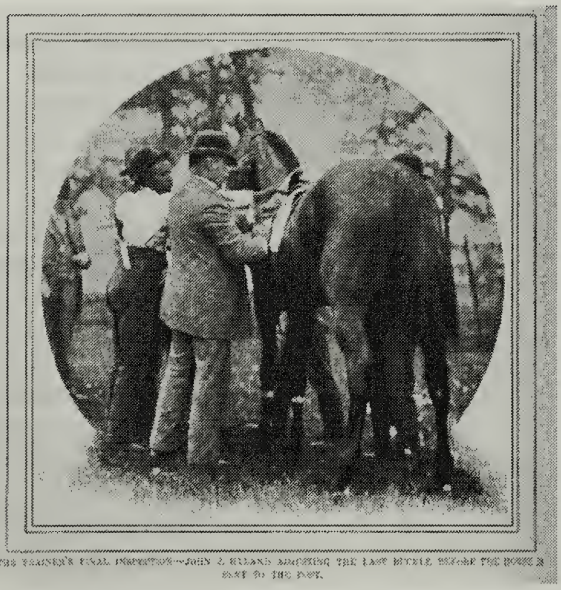

Figure 2
A photograph from Harry P. Mawson, "His Majesty the Thouroughbred," *Munsey's 23* (August 1900): 579.

Photography was an important means of illustrating magazine articles, particularly for articles about nature, new and unknown objects, and unusual people and places. "A photograph would be best because it would be accurate, and with modern photographic improvements it might be beautiful

and interesting in itself."[22] The few attempts to illustrate fiction with photographs were generally unsuccessful.[23] Photographs provided images of the "real world" to mix with the "art" of hand-drawn images.[24] (See **Figure 2** for an example of a typical photographic illustration.)

Images and Texts

Alan Trachtenberg describes the relationship between images and meaning as "fraught with uncertainty" because images cannot be explained simply or easily assigned a "fixed meaning."[25] Using an image with a text is one way to direct and control its meaning.[26] Central to the definition of illustration is the relationship between an image and a text: illustrations crystallize some part of a moving text, emerge from the spirit of the text, and are not meant to stand alone as images.[27] Illustrator Howard Pyle believed a measure of the illustrator's effectiveness was how well the text was represented in the illustration, and he trained his students to become familiar with the subject matter before creating their illustrations.[28] Joseph Pennell's 1896 textbook on illustration stated specifically that the purpose of hand-drawn illustration was to represent text.[29]

Scholars who have studied photographs and texts describe a similar relationship. As Jefferson Hunter observed, "Somewhere in the vicinity of every photograph there is a hand holding a pen."[30] Alan Trachtenberg suggests that text weaves a photographic image into a narrative[31] and photographic communication is constituted in the relationship of the text to the image.[32] Because of this relationship, many historians believe the original print context is important for understanding images.[33] The textual character of magazines framed the images, provided a way to direct and control their interpretation, and raises the question: Did the magazines consistently use images with texts in ways that discriminated between photographs and hand-drawn illustrations?

Using Analytic Induction

The argument that frames this research comes from qualitative and historical traditions, but it also suggests a pattern that can be tested using quantitative methods. Because little quantitative research has been done to explore the relationship between images and texts, there is no set of variables to test the association of an illustration to a magazine text. Therefore, the first step in this analysis was to generate a set of variables that characterize the relationship between a magazine text and the accompanying images. The second step was to test the ability of these variables to discriminate between photographic and hand-drawn illustrations.

The variables were developed using Martin Bulmer's analytic induction.[34] Analytic induction begins with a small data sample used to identify "essential and generalizable characteristics" of the data. These characteristics are subsequently examined across a broader data sample to refine and clarify the characteristics. The initial sample was drawn from *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Magazine*, *McClure's*, and *Scribner's Magazine* for the years 1897, 1899 and 1902. Four articles per magazine were chosen at random to represent each year; two were illustrated with hand-drawn images and two were illustrated with photographs. A total of 48 illustrated articles were examined to identify common characteristics among the texts of the various magazines in relation to the use of images. The variables were developed by examining the magazines' descriptions of the articles (indexes, table of contents and other editorial notes) and the content of the articles. Two sets of variables were identified using this process.

The first set includes three variables that describe the general textual character of the article as factual or fictional, as contemporary or historical, and as Western (American and European cultures) or non-Western (exotic places and peoples). Several assumptions were made using these three variables. If photographs were associated with realism and hand-drawn images were associated with art, then it is reasonable to expect photographs to illustrate factual articles and hand-drawn images to illustrate fiction.

Because photography was a relatively new medium and there were a limited number of photographs available to illustrate historical articles, it is reasonable to expect more hand-drawn illustrations to accompany historical articles. If photographs were best suited to document new and unknown objects, including exotic cultures, it is reasonable to expect photographs to accompany non-Western articles.

The second set includes four variables that describe text that is part of the individual image: the presence of a caption, quotation marks or other indicators that the caption was taken directly from the text, an artist's or photographer's signature on the image, and a credit line identifying the artist or photographer. Jefferson Hunter describes the caption as a "lowly genre of written art" with a powerful influence on images.[35] Captions directly address individual images and keep the focus on the text.[36] They direct the reader to a preferred reading of the image and provide information that the viewer might otherwise miss.[37]

Several assumptions were made about captions. If captions were an important form of control, then the majority of images, whether photographic or hand-drawn, were likely to be captioned. If photographs were

evidential, with a reality independent of the text, it is reasonable to expect images without captions to be photographs and captions to be written specifically for photographs rather than quoted from articles.

The signature is a textual mark that links a work of art to a particular artist. Like their fellow artists, illustrators of the late 19th and early 20th centuries signed or initialed their work. Their individual success depended on the recognition and popularity of their art, and the signature legitimated an illustration as a work of art. In addition to a signature, many magazines added a line of text under the image, such as "Drawn by . . ." or "Photographed by . . ." that identified the artist or photographer. The technological mediation of the camera and the film between the image and the photographer meant the image was not created in the same way as a hand-drawn image. Therefore, most photographic images were not signed. So it is reasonable to expect hand-drawn illustrations to be signed and credited more frequently than photographs.

The second step in this analysis tested the ability of the variables to discriminate between the use of photographs and hand-drawn illustrations in the magazines. *Century*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Magazine*, *McClure's*, *Munsey's* and *Scribner's Magazine* were sources for this step. These magazines were chosen because of their early use and promotion of images. They are generally cited as important early visual magazines and include both "popular" (*Cosmopolitan*, *McClure's*, and *Munsey's*) and "quality" (*Century*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's*) monthly magazines.[38] The popular magazines were known for their early use of photographs while the quality magazines were more closely associated with the presentation of artistic images.[39]

By 1900 both types of magazines used a mix of photographs and hand-produced illustrations. Images from 10 issues of each magazine were analyzed using the variables developed in step one. The 10-year period between 1895 and 1904 was chosen because the half-tone was developed and refined during these years. One issue per year of each magazine was chosen at random and every image in the issue (excluding advertising and decoration) was analyzed. The sample included the October 1895, November 1896, February 1897, October 1898, July 1899, August 1900, March 1901, December 1902, April 1903 and September 1904 issues. The sample included a total of 4,207 images.

Each individual image was identified as either a photograph or a hand-drawn illustration, and the sample yielded 1,734 photographs and 2,473 hand-drawn images. The criteria for determining the classification of an image was based on the description of the image given by the magazine and its appearance in the text of the article. While many images

were easy to categorize, others were problematic. For example, a photograph of a painting was classified as hand-drawn because the primary image seen in the magazine was the painting, and the magazine identified it as such. Illustrations that were drawn from photographs were also classified as hand-drawn because it was the drawings that were published.

Once the images were classified, each one was coded using seven dichotomous nominal-level variables developed from the first step. Each image was coded as factual or fictional, historical or contemporary, Western or non-Western, captioned or not captioned, quoted or original caption, signed or unsigned, and credited or not credited.[40] Once the data for each image was collected, it was analyzed using SPSS Discriminant Analysis. The purpose of discriminant analysis is to test how accurately a set of variables can classify an object into one of two or more distinct groups.[41]

For this study the discriminant analysis used the variables to classify individual images as either photographs or hand-drawn illustrations. Discriminant analysis offers two important benefits for this study. First, discriminant analysis is one of the few multivariate procedures that is frequently used to analyze dichotomous nominal level data generated from qualitative research, such as the data generated in this study.[42] Second, discriminant analysis analyzes the variables as a whole rather than individually. This approach more fully accounts for the interrelations of the variables in order to maximize the discriminant function.[43] The statistical procedure will only remove a variable from the final analysis if its contribution is negligible.[44]

Use of Images Differs

The results indicate that the variables identified for this study successfully discriminate between the use of photographs and hand-drawn illustrations in 92.4 percent of the images (99.4 percent of the photographs and 87.5 percent of the hand-drawn images). Since a prior probability of 50 percent exists for the analysis (50-50 chance of randomly classifying an image to the right group), the percentage of correct classifications was favorable.[45]

Six of the seven initial variables developed for the study emerged in the discriminant function. The variable that was removed was the use of a quoted or original caption. **Table 1** presents the percentage of images represented by each variable, and rank orders the variables by their contribution to the discriminant function.

Table 1: Percentage of Images Represented by Each Variable

Variable	Photograph	Illustration
Signed image	0%	87%
Factual article	99.9%	52%
Credited image	32%	52%
Captioned image	99%	92%
Historical article	6%	16%
Western article	90%	92%

The ability of the discriminant function to correctly classify over 92 percent of the images indicates the variables chosen for the analysis represented important textual characteristics that discriminated between photographs and hand-drawn images and confirms the observation that the use of text with photographs differed from its use with hand-drawn images. Identifying the artist or photographer was particularly significant. The presence of a signature and a credit line were the most significant discriminators, ranking first and third respectively (see **Table 1**).

Eighty-seven percent of the hand-drawn images were signed and nearly 52 percent were credited to an artist. There were some notable differences between the magazines. *Harper's Magazine* was the least likely to credit an individual illustration, and the signatures on many of the hand-produced illustrations that appeared in *Munsey's* were obliterated by the half-tone artist.

Century Magazine often included several credit lines with an image. For example, a portrait of Oliver Cromwell that appeared in *Century* in 1900 was drawn by George Tobin, after a portrait by Sir Peter Lehy, half-tone engraved by H. Davidson, with a border by C. F. Gordon.[46] Between 1900 and 1903, both *Century* and *Harper's* credited a number of half-tone engravers but generally stopped the practice after 1903. Both magazines had a history of crediting woodcut engravers and continued the practice during their early use of the half-tone. Generally, the analysis indicated that hand-drawn images were signed and more likely to be credited than photographs.

Figure 3
Portrait from "Republican National Convention, *Munsey's 23* (August 1900): 678.

This supports the observation that magazines treated hand-drawn illustrations as the creative products of artists.

None of the photographs in the sample were signed and only 32 percent were accompanied by credit lines. Portrait photographs from established studios were credited more often than photographs that documented places and activities. *Munsey's*, in particular, was extensively illustrated with portraits (see **Figure 3**). Overall, photographs were never signed and only occasionally credited. This helped identify photographs as documents with an existence independent of the photographer.

As expected, the difference between factual and fictional articles proved to be a significant variable. The association of an image with a factual or fictional article was the second most strongly correlated variable within the discriminant function (see **Table 1**). Over 99 percent of the photographs illustrated factual articles. There were a few attempts to use photographs of popular theater groups to illustrate excerpts from plays, and in many cases these were identified as "experimental" (see **Figure 4**). There were also a few photographs that were offered as "art," many of them from studios such as the Carbon Studios in New York (see **Figure 5**). Although there were arguments in the magazines that supported the artistic possibilities of photography, the nearly exclusive use of photo-

Figure 4
Scene from "The Camera and the Comedy," *Scribner's 20* (November 1896): 605.

graphs with factual articles emphasized their affiliation with realism. Hand-drawn images provided more flexibility than photographs and were used in nearly equal proportion with factual and fictional articles, but the exclusive use of hand-drawn images with fiction emphasized their creative and artistic character.

Figure 5
"Some Examples of Recent Art," *Cosmopolitan 20* (April 1896): 683.

The presence of a caption was important but was not as significant a discriminator as the first three variables (see **Table 1**). The primary reason for this is that both groups of images were generally captioned, including 99 percent of the photographs and 92 percent of the hand-drawn illustrations. The assumption that photographs were less likely to be captioned was not supported. The group percentages indicated that more photographs were captioned than illustrations, but this result may be somewhat misleading. Some articles included large groups of hand-drawn illustrations by a single artist with a number that were not captioned, and most illustrations used with poetry were not captioned. In addition, hand-drawn images used as decoration were not captioned. For example, the front or the end of some articles included a drawing that related to the text but was also used as decoration (see **Figure 6**).

Historical or contemporary and Western or non-Western differences were also significant in the discriminant function but these two variables were the weakest (see **Table 1**). The main reason is there were few historical and non-Western articles. Most of the images, whether hand-drawn or photographic, illustrated contemporary Western texts. Only six percent of the photographs and 16 percent of the hand-drawn images illustrated historical texts.

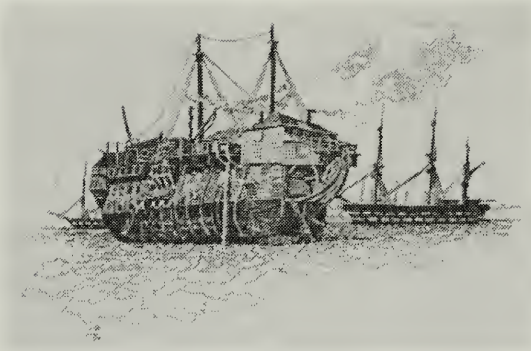

Figure 6
End-line illustration from A. T. Mahan, "The Battle of Copenhagen, *Century 53* (February 1897): 525.

Again, photographs had a narrow range of application, while the hand-drawn images illustrated both historical and contemporary texts. In some historical articles, the difference between a photograph and a hand-drawn illustration was not clear, making the initial classification of the image difficult. A few historical works of art and earlier engravings created during a particular historical period were photographed to illustrate articles. These photographs of earlier hand-drawn images were presented as art and included signatures and/or credit lines. These images were classified by the discriminant function as hand-drawn illustrations, but unlike other hand-drawn illustrations they were not created specifically for the article. Generally, the few photographs that appeared with historical articles were portraits or photographs of the Civil War.

The Western or non-Western variable was the least significant. The analysis indicated that hand-drawn images were used primarily for Western texts while photographs were used for both. Hand-drawn illustrations were Western in character, the illustrators were trained in Western art, and their work was most appropriate for Western texts. Only 6 percent of hand-drawn illustrations were used with non-Western texts, and many of these illustrations were based on photographs that were re-drawn by an illustrator. Ten percent of the photographs illustrated

"Kiku Kiku Gai," the Minister's Youngest Daughter

Figure 7
Photograph from "Little Widows of a Dynasty," *Harper's 106* (December 1902): 75.

non-Western texts (see **Figure 7**). Most of these non-Western texts were factual and contemporary, a combination appropriate for the documentary character of photographs. This finding suggests that hand-drawn illustration was widely used to express Western culture while photography was more likely to document non-Western cultures.

Text Frames Meaning of Images

This research indicates the influence of magazine texts on accompanying images was strong at two levels. First, both photographic and hand-drawn images were connected to the texts of articles and second, both were captioned. This research offers quantitative support for the observation that magazines used texts to frame the meaning of images in particular ways.

The discriminant analysis correctly classified 99.4 percent of the photographs. This high percentage can be attributed to photography's narrow range of application, as photographs were used primarily with contemporary, factual articles about Western topics. Photographs were almost always captioned, only occasionally credited to a photographer, and were never signed, distancing the photographer from the image. The texts that were illustrated with photographs emphasized the role of photographs as evidence and their ability to document the contemporary world. The absence of signatures and credit lines de-emphasized the creative character of photographs and indicated a degree of independence from the photographer.

The discriminant analysis correctly classified 87.5 percent of the hand-drawn illustrations. The hand-drawn illustrations had a broad range of application, appearing with an almost equal number of fiction and nonfiction texts. Illustrations reproduced by woodcut engravers had been used extensively to illustrate a variety of articles before the development of the half-tone, and publishers and editors were familiar with hand-drawn images and comfortable using them in a variety of print contexts.

Hand-drawn illustrations were typically confined to the context of Western culture. This emphasized their character as representations of Western cultural experiences and traditions. Many illustrators were becoming important, prominent artists within Western culture and their illustrations helped develop their reputations. Hand-drawn images were not representations of the real world but reflections of the text brought to life by an artist. Illustrations were almost always captioned and were generally signed by the artist. The signatures and credit lines were especially important to identify these images as artistic creations, and the signatures set the images apart from photographs.

Documentary Power

The magazines were the earliest medium to mix both photographs and hand-drawn illustrations with texts, a practice that allowed audiences to more directly experience the difference between the two sets of images. What is ironic about the distinction between photographic and hand-drawn images is that the half-tone process of image reproduction is a photographic process, so all of the images in the magazines were essentially photographs. This emphasizes the importance of rhetorical frames as a key to understanding what images mean.

Stange observed that texts, captions and institutions shape the meaning of images. Magazines, as institutions, used texts and captions in ways that set photographs apart from hand-drawn images. Hand-drawn illustrations were more flexible than photographs and were used with a variety of texts. The use of illustrations with fiction and the practice of signing illustrations allowed magazines to align these images with art, and the use of photographs in a more tightly controlled and a narrower textual environment emphasized the documentary character and sense of realism associated with photographs. The magazines helped shape and define the artistic quality of hand-drawn images and the documentary power of photographic images.

Endnotes

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[3]W. I. Scandlin, "Photography in World Progress," *Scientific American* 66 (24 October 1908): 262.

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[16]Frank Mather, Jr., "Book illustration as Art," *The Independent* 54 (1902): 230.

[17]Kahan 52.

[18]Vicki Goldberg, *The Power of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991) 19.

[19]Scandlin 262; Arthur Page; "Adventures of Daring Photographers," *World's Work* 14 (1907): 230.

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[23]Harris 304; an example of using photographs to illustrate fiction can be found in Alexander Black, "Photography in Fiction, 'Miss Jerry,' the First Picture Play," *Scribner's Magazine* 18 (1895): 248.

[24]Harris 304.

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[40]All of the coding was done by the author. Reliability was calculated by having two independent coders classify a sample of the data which was then compared with the authors. A simple percentage calculation indicated 96 percent intercoder reliability.

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Self-Censorship by Coercion: The Federal Government and the California Japanese-Language Newspapers from Pearl Harbor to Internment

By Takeya Mizuno

During the period between Pearl Harbor to mass internment of Japanese Americans in mid-1942, the federal government enforced a unique press control policy on Japanese-language newspapers. During the first month following Pearl Harbor, the federal government took various suppressive measures, such as arrests of publishers, interrogation of staff members, temporary shut-down of newspapers, and the requirement for English translations. After the initial surge of these coercions, however, the federal government used less coercive methods.

This unique combination of both coercive and less coercive controls, amplified by pressing wartime social conditions, was so effective that it enabled the government to elicit self-censorship without resorting to formal censorship or licensing. This policy benefited the federal government in two ways: officials could make use of the Japanese press for the promotion of their own policies, and they could also avoid gross violation of the democratic ideals of the nation. This article examines this coercive self-censorship policy by focusing on the government's treatment of three major California Japanese-language newspapers, the Nichi Bei *in San Francisco,* Kashu Mainichi *and* Rafu Shimpo *in Los Angeles.*

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Minority vs. Mainstream Media

"All Americans abhor censorship," President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared when discussing his policy toward the news media about a week after Pearl Harbor. Although the Roosevelt Administration after the outbreak of war became more watchful and restrictive of the press in general, it at least avoided the excesses of coercive press suppression that happened during World War I. The government dealt with minority presses differently from mainstream media, but it fell short of repressive censorship. For the African American media, for example, officials considered seditious indictments, but in most cases they instead chose a more moderate course to work out a cooperative relationship. In dealing with the German American publications, the government neither shut them down nor jailed editors, although the post office monitored them carefully.[1]

Toward the Japanese American press, however, the federal government took harsher measures. As the President added in his aforementioned statement, "some degree of censorship is essential in war time, and we are at war." In Hawaii, the military forcibly closed the two major Japanese-language newspapers from December 11, 1941 to January 8, 1942 and placed them under strict censorship thereafter. The military justified this coercive action with the declaration of martial law. But even in areas where martial law was not declared, the federal government imposed stricter control upon the Japanese-language newspapers. While officials were unwilling to resort to overt censorship, they also felt it necessary to impose some controls.[2]

Self-Censorship by Coercion

Coercive rather than voluntary self-censorship characterizes the government's unique policy toward the West Coast Japanese-language newspapers from Pearl Harbor to mass evacuation and internment in Spring 1942. Without formal censorship or licensing, federal government officials effectively controlled them by means of varying degrees of coerciveness, resulting in self-censorship in most cases. During the first few weeks after Pearl Harbor, officials arrested publishers and major editors, temporarily halted their newspapers' operation, and ordered them to submit English translations to the post office.

After these coercive actions, officials used less coercive methods, supplying them with governmental information, frequently visiting newsrooms, having "talks" with staffers, and giving informal, unsolicited advice on editorial decisions. Under wartime conditions, the combination

of these various coercive and less coercive controls resulted in making the Japanese editors censor themselves to demonstrate their full loyalty to the United States. This self-censorship by coercion well served the government's intention to control the Japanese press without imposing formal censorship or licensing. But this policy, despite its importance, remains a subject largely unexplored.[3]

This article examines how this unique policy evolved from Pearl Harbor until the last West Coast Japanese-language paper stopped publication in May 1942. This study focuses mainly upon the three major Japanese daily newspapers in California, the *Nichi Bei* (*Japanese American News*) in San Francisco, *Kashu Mainichi* (*Japan-California Daily News*) and *Rafu Shimpo* (*L.A. Japanese Daily News*) in Los Angeles, although it covers some other papers as well. Taken together, these three publications served the overwhelming majority of the Japanese living in California at the time, a state with more than 73 percent of the whole Japanese population in the United States.[4]

To examine in detail these newspapers' relations with the government, this study utilizes archival documents of various government agencies. These include correspondence, reports, surveys, memoranda, and other official records of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and Western Defense Command (WDC). The WRA records are used because this agency assumed the major task of operating the camp facilities. The WDC archives were also used since it was in charge of evacuating and interning the Japanese to inland camps.

The records of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) proved helpful, as did the diaries, letters, and personal papers of newspaper staff, their newspapers' articles and editorials, and published articles in addition to other secondary sources. While not exhaustive, these documents sufficiently illuminate the federal government's Japanese-language press control policy during the period.[5]

Japanese-Language Newspapers in the U.S.

The Japanese-language press was started in California during the late 19th century by immigrants who were considered too liberal by the Japanese government then in power. These well-educated immigrants came to the United States, where freedom of the press is guaranteed, and enjoyed considerable freedom until World War II. The earliest Japanese-language newspapers include the *Joki Sen* (*Steamship*), *Shin Nihon* (*New Japan*), and *Ensei* (*Explorer*) published in 1887, 1888, and 1891 respectively. Since then, the Japanese ethnic press had gradually developed a

wider readership and by 1922 there were some 20 publications in major West Coast cities.

By 1941, *N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* listed at least 11 general-interest Japanese newspapers published in the United States, with many smaller and unfamiliar ones omitted. Until then, major California newspapers examined in this article had already secured a substantial foundation in each city. Circulation figures of the *Nichi Bei*, *Kashu Mainichi*, and *Rafu Shimpo* in 1941 were approximately 9,400, 8,500, and 8,500 respectively.[6]

How much freedom these newspapers enjoyed can be observed from their open support for Japanese foreign policies during the 1930s, policies that were contrary to Washington. A report of the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) reveals the Japanese newspapers in Seattle had "a natural bent towards directing the public's mind toward Japanese interests." An inside report compiled at the Manzanar Relocation Center also noted all Japanese dailies in California "followed the same pattern of taking a strong pro-Japan stand throughout."[7]

In addition, they kept playing an unusually influential role in the Japanese communities in helping develop their Japanese self-identities. As one former Japanese newspaper editor observed, in a highly condensed community "[the Japanese-language papers] exerted an influence greater than is generally attributed to the press in American life. In creating popular attitudes and views on issues affecting the community, the Japanese vernacular newspapers played a primary role." A JERS study also wrote newspapers were "a significant factor in strengthening solidarity" and "an important organ for the formation of public opinion."[8]

But the sudden outbreak of war forced them to reverse their editorial position. After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese press quickly forsook their attachment to Japan and instead promoted patriotism to the United States. In his report submitted to federal agencies, Togo Tanaka of the *Rafu Shimpo* observed:

> [P]ro-Axis news dispatches in these Japanese language sections were the order of the day before Pearl Harbor. [But after the war broke out,] [c]hanges in editing & general tone and content of the Japanese sections were noted in some cases. Vicious anti-American expressions disappeared completely. Stress was given to publications of Federal regulations which were numerous; editorials emphasized cheerful compliance.[9]

With the strong anti-Japan public sentiment following Pearl Harbor, such an about-face editorial change was inevitable if they wanted to

continue publication. When the government decided on the wholesale evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans, nearly all Americans supported the removal. Morton Grodzins' study shows most California papers supported or acknowledged the evacuation. Thomas H. Heuterman's recent study of the mainstream media's treatment of Japanese Americans from 1869 to 1996 also shows Japanese Americans "could take scant comfort from the constitutionally protected press as they sought to exercise their rights." Eventually, all Japanese-language newspapers on the West Coast were forced to cease publication by May 1942 due to the evacuation and internment orders.[10]

Federal Government Coercion

During the first month after Pearl Harbor, the federal government imposed a series of coercive measures upon the Japanese-language newspapers. Based upon secret surveillance done in the late 1930s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) apprehended some 900 Japanese community leaders by December 10, 1941. The number of arrests reached more than 2,000 by February 1942. Among them were Japanese language school teachers, martial arts instructors, Buddhist clergy, and other civic leaders whom the FBI suspected subscribed to the Japanese cause. The FBI apprehended many journalists as well and even suspended their publications. Officials allowed major newspapers to resume business by the end of 1941, but kept a watchful eye on these newspapers and employed various types of coercion to control them.[11]

Kashu Mainichi* and *Rafu Shimpo

The first type, or the most coercive measure, was the combination of arrest, temporary suspension, and required submission of translations to the U.S. Post Office. This was the case of the *Kashu Mainichi* and *Rafu Shimpo*, the two largest dailies in Los Angeles. The *Kashu Mainichi*'s publisher, Sei Fujii, was apprehended by the FBI immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and his detention resulted in his paper's temporary termination. The paper stopped from December 11 to December 19. It was allowed to resume on December 20 with a four-page format, three pages for the Japanese section and one page for the English section.[12]

But governmental coercion continued even after resumption of publication. Officials subjected the *Kashu Mainichi* to what former reporter Junko Maruya called "censorship," by which she meant officials ordered the paper to bring pre-publication articles to a nearby post office

to be checked by some Japanese-speaking, second generation Nisei. "They inspected articles roughly and gave an OK," Maruya said. Requirement of translations was mandated by the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act of 1917. This World War I measure empowered the post office to demand "true and complete" translations of all war-related articles published in any foreign-language publication. This act took effect under a declaration of war.[13]

The government imposed the same type of coercion upon the largest Japanese daily in Los Angeles, *Rafu Shimpo*. On December 7, 1941, the FBI arrested publisher Toyosaku Komai and a few other chief editors. Komai was then sent to an enemy alien camp controlled by the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Justice Department and did not return until the end of the war. In addition to the sudden detention of the publisher and experienced key editors, federal government officials made direct threats to the remaining staff. Kaori Hayashi wrote: "The *Rafu Shimpo* office was raided by the FBI, and its workers were interrogated at the office. Many Japanese documents, especially pro-Japan writing, were thrown away at that time." This seriously crippled the *Rafu Shimpo*, and it ceased publication on the same day.[14]

Even after removing the main editorial leadership, officials continued to intervene. The *Rafu Shimpo* was allowed to resume publication two days later on December 9 with the publisher's son, Akira Komai, as the acting publisher. Yet even after the paper was permitted to continue, Department of Treasury officials exercised close supervision over the remaining staffers. This had a far-reaching effect on their morale. According to Togo Tanaka, an English section editor of the *Rafu Shimpo* who himself was taken into custody by the FBI on December 8, the remaining staff, especially those in the Japanese section, were edgy: "[T]here were just two pages of English and no Japanese section at all. [Komai and other two chief editors are] still in custody. Morale is jittery, especially in the Japanese section editorial room."[15]

As did the *Kashu Mainichi*, the *Rafu Shimpo* also had to submit English translations of all articles to the postal authorities before publication. From the December 10 issue, the Japanese section placed notices next to every Japanese article that said English translations were filed as mandated by the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act. On December 13, the *Rafu Shimpo* explained this "postal censorship" required the paper not only to prepare verbatim translations but also to wait for the double-inspection by both the post office and the Anti-Axis Committee of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). These JACL members were enthusiastic supporters of the federal government. This requirement placed an additional heavy burden upon the staffers who had already lost

their publisher and editors. The paper claimed this process took more than four times as much work as usual.[16]

The Case of *Nichi Bei*

The second type of governmental coercion involved a temporary shutdown and subsequent close surveillance by the post office, but without arrest. The leading Japanese paper in San Francisco, the daily *Nichi Bei*, illustrates this type of coercion. The FBI suspended the paper immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack. When the managing editor, Shichinosuke Asano, rushed to the newsroom on December 7, FBI officials had already seized his paper's building. The paper stopped publishing for more than three weeks.

The FBI did not apprehend staffers and finally allowed them to restart the business from December 29, and the paper was able to continue business longer than any other Japanese paper on the West Coast until its closure on May 16, 1942. During this period, however, the *Nichi Bei* was put under strict governmental surveillance. According to a reporter, Kazuma Ikezoe, officials demanded English translations when they permitted the paper to resume. Ikezoe also recollected that officials employed those who could read Japanese and let them check the *Nichi Bei* and other papers. Moreover, Asano wrote in his autobiography that the FBI kept his cabinets sealed in the newsroom from December 7 until the closing day.[17]

Doho and Other Newspapers

The third type of governmental coercion was to arrest the publisher, but to permit continued publication with the requirement of submission of English translations. The extremely pro-America opinion newspaper in Los Angeles, *Doho*, meaning "comrade" in Japanese, was subjected to this type of coercion. While most Japanese American papers supported Japan's foreign policy before the war, the *Doho* had consistently taken up an anti-Axis stance. Despite its avowed Americanism, however, the publisher Shuji Fujii and San Francisco correspondent Karl Yoneda were taken into custody by the FBI. Fujii was later released. But he was removed to the Santa Anita Assembly Center and soon employed by the Office of War Information (OWI) to help with the propaganda campaign against Japan.[18]

In addition to the temporary arrest of the publisher and editor, the *Doho*, too, was ordered to submit English translations to the post office. From December 15 to December 26, the *Doho* posted the following notice: "True translation of the Japanese on this page [was] filed with the postmaster at Los Angeles on [the date] as required by the [Trading-with-

the-Enemy] Act of October 6, 1917." But the *Doho*'s pro-Americanism stance saved itself from a temporary suspension.

The government's coercive policy extended to other newspapers. The *Shinsekai Asahi* (*New World-Sun*), the second largest daily in San Francisco, was forced to shut down on December 8 and did not reopen. The weekly *Chuka Jiho* (*Japanese Times of Central California*) in Fresno was required by the local postmaster to submit a translation of each issue with a signed statement pledging that the translation was "true, correct and complete."[19]

Self-Censorship Following Governmental Coercion

Once coercive measures were implemented in the first month after Pearl Harbor, the federal government used less coercive methods and continued to control the Japanese press by eliciting self-censorship. Officials did not impose formal censorship. They neither placed censors in newsrooms, nor forced newspaper staff to delete or publish certain stories. Nor did they arrest publishers or search newsrooms. Instead, officials directly supplied information materials to newspapers, visited newsrooms, and had "talks" with the staff. Coupled with a series of coercive controls right after Pearl Harbor, these less coercive measures proved formidable enough to have the editors exercise self-restraint. It even resulted in having the Japanese editors "voluntarily" consult government officials before publication. Strong pressures from other Japanese Americans, general anti-Japanese public sentiment, and economic problems also fueled their self-censorship and self-dedication to the government.

Except for the first surge of coercive controls, the Japanese papers could in theory operate "freely." Officials did not regulate them in an authoritative manner. A Press Division officer of the Office of Censorship made this lack of coercion clear in his April 25 correspondence to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) that "We have ascertained that to date no foreign language publications have been taken over by the government." The chief officer of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of Facts and Figures also claimed the Japanese press was license-free. He reported to the ACLU that "I can assure you with some confidence that it is extremely unlikely that there will be any general licensing of the foreign language press."[20]

Governmental Information and Publicity

In practice, however, the Japanese press was not immune from governmental constraints. When the *Nichi Bei* reopened after the three

week shutdown, the government supplied official information materials to the newspaper. This filled the paper's pages with the reprints of military orders and official announcements. At this point, remarked reporter Kazuma Ikezoe, the *Nichi Bei* refrained from publishing any critical items against Washington and became "like the authority's bulletin." A letter the publisher Yasuo Abiko sent to the Western Defense Command (WDC) also shows that the *Nichi Bei* was allowed to resume business because it willingly served as the government's information outlet. Abiko wrote:

> It was quite fortunate that the paper was granted a license just at this time for an important announcement [that] was received by special wire from Attorney General . . . . Subsequently the *Nichi Bei* and other Japanese newspapers in Seattle and Los Angeles continued to publicize the Department of Justice regulations and we feel that many Japanese were informed to rulings through our columns.[21]

The pro-America tenor of the reopening issue also confirms that the *Nichi Bei* restrained itself and functioned virtually as the government's mouthpiece. The editorial of December 29 announced that "a general license" was issued on the previous day and read, "[w]e pledge our wholehearted support and cooperation to all American government officials." Since direct licensing was not established in the mainland United States, unlike Hawaii, the term "license" probably meant informal governmental permission.[22]

The *Rafu Shimpo* and *Kashu Mainichi* were under similar constraints. Editors dutifully cooperated with the government and helped disseminate official announcements and directives to the Japanese populace in Los Angeles. The December 11 issue of the *Rafu Shimpo* included this note: "The *Rafu Shimpo* is one of the few American-and-Japanese language dailies properly approved by the American government to continue on the Pacific Coast. Look for all important announcements and official bulletins pertaining to the Nisei and their parents in this paper."

On February 5, 1942, the paper published "A Statement of Policy," which in part read: "It now serves as a medium of releasing information for the United States Department of Justice, War Department and other government agencies to the resident Japanese of the Southland." When it resumed publication on December 20, the *Kashu Mainichi* made a similar announcement: "To our readers: Because of the present situation, the *Kashu Mainichi* will publish no statement or resolution of position or policy unless the proper authorities approve or order us to publish it." Both papers functioned as the *de facto* official

information channel between the government and the Los Angeles Japanese community.[23]

Informal Contacts by Government Officials

Government officials made self-regulation and voluntary cooperation almost unavoidable through threats implicit in their occasional visits, "talks," or mere physical presence. Karl Ichiro Akiya, an editor of the *Doho*, denied formal censorship but admitted military officials called on him several times to elicit background information about the Japanese community. Togo Tanaka of the *Rafu Shimpo* noted in his journal dated December 24 that even those who were not directly approached by the FBI felt fearful of sudden arrest and interrogation. Seeing major staff members put in jail, wrote Tanaka, the rank and file staff were "jittery about when the FBI will come knocking at their doors some night." Later Tanaka repeated that occasional visits by officials had great psychological impact upon newsmen.[24]

Social and Economic Factors

The Japanese press was also under additional pressure from its own ethnic community. Tanaka observed that some radical pro-government second generation Nisei "set up some kind of a press censorship group" and urged Japanese papers still in operation to propagate Americanism. "[T]hey've been pretty much influencing the local [Japanese] newspapers," wrote Tanaka. This in-community censorship further chilled editorial freedom of newspapers while creating doubts about their credibility in the minds of their readers. In the *Rafu Shimpo*'s case, obedience to these radical Nisei groups resulted in the devastating loss of about 1,000 subscribers.[25]

Moreover, the anti-Japanese general public further narrowed the editorial freedom of the Japanese-language newspapers. Gary Y. Okihiro wrote many Japanese Americans began to hide anything associated with Japan during the days following Pearl Harbor. They buried Japanese flags, letters sent from their families in Japan, Japanese-language books and records, and "indeed, all things Japanese," out of fear that "[a]ny connection, any link with Japan, any expression, any thoughts indicative of Japanese culture and ethnicity [would invite] others' suspicion."

For the same reason, the Japanese-language newspapers stopped showing any association with Japan or the Japanese. Hence, the *Kashu Mainichi* changed its English section's name from the *Japan-California Daily News* to the *California Daily News* two days after it resumed after a temporary suspension. The *Rafu Shimpo* did not change its name but took

Americanism as its editorial policy "to foster a deeper appreciation among resident Japanese of American ideals and democracy."[26]

Financial problems further increased difficulties of the Japanese newspapers and made them peculiarly vulnerable to federal government directives. As Harry Kitano wrote, most of the Japanese papers were "operating in extremely precarious economic circumstances" before the war. Predictably, their economic situations worsened with the advent of war. Losses of subscription fees and advertisements were especially severe, although no news articles, public records, or documents mention the governmental restrictions on newsprint, ink, and other materials. Some papers admitted publicly their financial crisis. The April 23 issue of the *Doho* announced: "And now we make a final appeal to you our readers, a last appeal to your generosity. *Doho* has been unable to meet its liabilities due to the economic displacement among our people as a result of the war. We appeal to you to help us close our books with an even balance." The *Kashu Mainichi* suffered from the wartime shortage of revenue, too. The December 22 issue announced "with regret that it will be unable to publish its customary New Year's edition because of financial and other reasons." The paper in its final edition again pointed out the problem: "[Without the presence of the publisher], we employees have carried on with sole responsibility for the editorial policies and financial operation of the paper, and, [as the publisher] Mr. Fujii wished, we have continued as long as it was financially and otherwise possible."[27]

Self-Censorship by Japanese-Language Newspapers

Hampered financially and harried by the government's initial coercive policies and continuous interventions, Japanese publishers and editors often readily censored themselves. For example, when the editors could not decide how to deal with stories that might raise controversy, they often initiated consultation with government agencies.

Such self-censorship can be exemplified best by the *Rafu Shimpo*. The paper periodically kept in touch with the U.S. District Attorney's office, police, FBI agents, and military officials to elicit editorial suggestions. Although these meetings were informal, the newspaper dutifully followed the advice it received. In his diary on December 23, 1941, Tanaka described how such behind-the-scenes negotiations worked between his paper and William Fleet Palmer, the District Attorney for Southern California:

> I tell him that our acting publisher and editor . . . think[s] it would be a good idea to reinstate me in our readers' minds as being reasonably whitewashed before going back to the

English editorial desk. Palmer says: "Run an article saying the reports of your demise are exaggerated." I ask him: "Is it all right to write about some of the things I saw in jail?" He suggests I sit down and write a column, and he'll offer suggestions . . . . Forty-five minutes later, I go back into Mr. Palmer's office and he reads the stuff. He goes through it rapidly, pauses at one point . . . . Mr. Palmer thinks the sentence might be easily misinterpreted. He doesn't say anything more. I tell him: "I think I'll delete that part." He smiles.[28]

In another instance, the *Rafu Shimpo* consulted the FBI, fearing forcible shut-down. The diary of Tanaka on March 14, 1942 reveals the editors attempted to cultivate a friendly relationship with the authorities only to be reminded of the danger of non-compliance:

> [Concerned staff] voiced again today at a meeting as to whether [the] FBI is about to close us down any time. Result was, we were delegated to call and try to get definite word on what kind of copy is permissible for publication under existing conditions and what type would be likely to get us cracked down and closed. [One] FBI agent . . . enlightened us with this: "Just keep in mind the consequences of the remarks; whatever you print just keep that in mind; that ought to be the only yardstick." Said so much.[29]

The *Rafu Shimpo* not only exercised voluntary restraints but also strove to please the government by promoting financial contributions to the national war effort. In a report submitted to government officials, Tanaka and other editors emphasized how enthusiastically their newspaper was assisting the national defense:

> This newspaper raised over $3,300 in a drive to purchase two United States Army ambulances . . . . The *Rafu Shimpo* has also raised relief funds, encouraged Red Cross campaigns; editorially in its English sections it has crusaded to keep morale among citizens as loyal Americans, cautioning them against becoming bitter whatever the war may hold for them.[30]

On one occasion, the *Rafu Shimpo* staff even suggested officials investigate other Japanese newspapers. Criticizing the *Sangyo Nippo* (*Southern California Industrial Daily*) in Los Angeles for showing a pro-

Japan tone, the *Rafu Shimpo* editors claimed that "unregulated editing by pro-Axis writers constitutes a definite fifth column activity. The situation, we believe, bears investigation and examination, whatever the opinions of other newspapermen loyal to the United States may be."[31] For the *Rafu Shimpo* editors, demonstration of thorough patriotism as well as self-censorship was a *sine qua non* for their paper's continuance.

Other Japanese newspapers also felt pressures to practice self-control and demonstrate their best cooperation to the national war effort. Dissemination of official announcements and orders was one major way to justify their continuous existence. Togo Tanaka of the *Rafu Shimpo* noted, "Generally, the Japanese dailies demonstrated their value as a medium of information from federal agencies into homes of Japanese nationals. [The Department] of Justice regulations could be released effectively. Recognition was given to this useful role of the language papers."[32]

This function was remarkably appealing because of the complex nature of the Japanese language. The Japanese newspapers not only reprinted supplied English materials but also translated them into Japanese. Taking advantage of their bilingual character, they proclaimed to government officials their usefulness in bolstering morale, preventing hysteria, and curbing rumors. When the *Rafu Shimpo* sought permission from the Western Defense Command (WDC) to let its staff visit possible campsites, the paper justified the request by saying: "We are acting on numerous suggestions that down-to-earth factual reports published in both sections of our newspaper will do much to abate hysteria and aid in the effeiciency [sic] of evacuation . . . . Our publication . . . is anxious to be of service to you in every way."[33]

Total Compliance with Mass Internment

The result of this self-control by coercion was the cheerful compliance with the government's decision to intern Japanese Americans. The mass internment policy was doubtlessly an undesirable outcome for the Japanese newspapers because it would mean the removal of the entire readership as well as discontinuation of their operations. However, they accepted it without visible protest. They rather expressed appreciation for the government's "democratic" and "generous" treatment thus far.

The *Nichi Bei* closed on May 16 with these words of gratitude: "We feel exceedingly thankful that we were able to remain in this city until the major portion of the whole evacuation movement has been completed so that our facilities have been available to all government agencies in disseminating vital information concerning the huge undertaking."

Similarly, the *Doho* closed on May 4 by repeating its anti-Axis, pro-administration stance: "*Doho*'s staff will join those in the assembly or reception centers. However, we hope and believe that eventually there will be a vernacular press dedicated to the defeat of Japanese militarism."

The final day of the *Rafu Shimpo* was April 4. To the last moment, the paper did not complain at all about the government. The paper's last issue read:

> Pearl Harbor brought us to test. As a publication dedicated to a sincere and genuine loyalty to this nation we know as home, we have sought unceasingly to express those sentiments in action . . . . It has been, and remains, our desire to continue publication until evacuation is completed . . . . Time, however, has crept upon us. Circumstances and impending Army evacuation orders compel our closing.[34]

Probably the *Kashu Mainichi* was the most cheerfully compliant of all California Japanese papers. It was effusive in its praise of the federal government in its closing issue on March 21. Saying the paper was obliged to "temporarily cease publication," the editorial emphasized its full loyalty to Washington:

> [W]e believe the utility and necessity of the Japanese vernacular newspaper has come to an end . . . . We further believe it is no longer advisable for Japanese-operated newspapers to seek to continue publication in government-controlled centers . . . . *For its eminent fairness to us during this period, we pay profound tribute to the United States Government. We are grateful that we have been able to continue so long with a freedom, possible only under a democratic form of government.* [emphasis in original][35]

Then the editors urged not only outward compliance with the internment policy but inward fortitude not to view the event cynically and interpret it as motivated by mere racial prejudice:

> *Let us join the evacuation movement, which is of vital necessity to our country, cheerfully and without rancor, for this is the supreme test of our loyalty and worth as an integral part of the American nation. Remember always that we are doing this to serve the interests of the majority of our fellow Americans and we must never allow ourselves to become bitter and cynical by viewing it as a result of racial prejudice.* [emphasis in original][36]

It must be noted that some governmental officials did not necessarily think all Japanese newspapers should be closed down by the internment policy. Some seriously considered allowing one particular newspaper, the San Francisco *Nichi Bei*, to continue publishing. Although this did not come true in the end, negotiations between officials and the newspaper indicate that the main concept of the government's press control policy was to exploit the Japanese ethnic press through voluntary censorship by governmental supervision.

In early April 1942, Yasuo Abiko, president and publisher of the *Nichi Bei*, requested from the WDC special permission to continue business. The WDC, under the direction of Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, assumed field responsibility in the coastal evacuation areas. Abiko asked if his paper's plant, staff members, and their families could move out of Military Area No.1 to Del Rey in Fresno County, California, or, if the site was not appropriate, to Salt Lake City or "to any other location deemed wise by the proper authorities." Meanwhile, his company went ahead and rented a building at Del Rey. Abiko also requested financial assistance to complete this special relocation.[37]

Three Rationales for Continuous Publication

Abiko attempted to keep his paper alive by offering to the authorities complete cooperation with their wartime policies. He justified his petition on three grounds. First, his paper had great potential to serve as the government's official information outlet. His letter to the WDC read:

> During the past several months, the *Nichi Bei* has had the privilege of being of special service to many branches of the U.S. government . . . in passing on much vital information, affecting both the alien Japanese nationals and American-born citizens . . . . We feel that in the days to come our usefulness as a public service organ will increase considerably if permitted to continue as heretofore as a Japanese and English language paper.[38]

Abiko also asserted his bilingual newspaper would be the best and only medium that could connect the government and the Japanese populace. He stressed that the majority of the first generation Issei Japanese could read only a little English and few second generation Nisei

were literate enough in Japanese to translate complicated regulations and directives for their parents. In his letter to Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy, Abiko pointed out: "With our staff of expert translators we could be in the position to inform the Japanese immediately on the latest releases." In a telegram sent to the WRA a few weeks later, Abiko again emphasized his paper's usefulness as a messenger to the Japanese American community, noting "tremendous increase in circulation since suspension of Los Angeles dailies indicates desire of people to have our paper continued. [We want] to remain to maintain publication as public service and to assist in dissemination of latest government announcements."[39]

Finally, Abiko argued his paper should continue because it would advance the government's campaign to boost the morale of Japanese Americans. He claimed: "With proper assistance and supervision we feel we can contribute greatly to keeping up the morale of [Japanese Americans] now being uprooted from their homes and can continue to be the means of stimulating loyalty to the United States." Abiko further claimed, "[t]o take away from these people their main source of information . . . would undeniably lower their morale in the trying days of the future."

Abiko also highlighted his newspaper's value as a means to Americanize the Japanese-speaking Issei, stating "a newspaper [ought to] be printed in the Japanese language to carry on a program of Americanization and to convey to them vital information, especially from the government." Abiko went so far as to say his newspaper would readily accept any editorial supervision, or even "censorship," if it might be allowed to continue publication. "To carry on operations most efficiently we believe that existing publications should be maintained with such government supervision, control, aid and censorship as may be deemed necessary." In a memorandum dated May 7, Abiko again said his newspaper "can be of service to the government and the Army, not only by disseminating news and future government orders, but also by interpreting the true spirit of Americanism and democratic principles to 120,000 Japanese in their own language."[40]

Positive Reactions of Government Officials

High-ranking civilian officials of major governmental branches reacted positively to the *Nichi Bei*'s request. Officials of the WRA in particular liked it, assuming the Japanese-language press was so useful that its total elimination would only hinder the administration's job. In a memo sent to WRA Director Milton Eisenhower on April 6, Director of

Information John Bird emphasized that the Japanese ethnic press was an important means for communicating with Japanese Americans:

> [T]he Japanese-American press has been encouraged by the Army and the Department of Justice to print proclamations, orders and press releases in Japanese to assure that they will be well understood. From my standpoint, the closing of this channel would restrict our means of reaching the older group, who after all have quite a bit of influence.[41]

The WRA had an additional reason for not wanting all Japanese papers to be shut down. Officials considered that their elimination conflicted with the nation's democratic principles. This did not mean the WRA favored granting unlimited freedom to the Japanese press. In the same letter, Bird acknowledged the need of certain editorial control to prevent publication of subversive information and propaganda. "By all means certain checks should be maintained to protect us against use of Japanese as a method of conspiracy and secret communication, and certainly some serious problems will arise regarding the Shinto religion, which has as a basis the worship of the Emperor."

Saying so, however, he justified the plan to keep the *Nichi Bei* alive on the basis of the nation's democratic ideal. The paper's presence "is very important from a stand-point of morale and civil liberties." The other high-ranking WRA information officer also expressed his agency's concern that the outright ban of the Japanese press would conflict with the nation's democratic war aim. This officer stated that the WRA favored the plan "because we are anxious that the pattern of American democracy be maintained for the evacuees." The WRA's assumption was that self-censorship under moderate supervision would be enough to control the *Nichi Bei*, and such a policy would not only benefit the authority but also fit the democratic ideal of the United States.[42]

What made the *Nichi Bei* a good candidate for retention was the paper's commitment to Americanism. Bird noted, "I understand that their policy has been pro-American and that they have urged Americanization for many years, and that their publication is regarded as loyal by the FBI." That the WRA was serious about the *Nichi Bei*'s relocation also can be ascertained by the fact that the authority immediately surveyed the public opinion of Del Rey about the plan.[43]

For the same reason, civilian officials of the War and Justice Departments were equally enthusiastic about the paper's relocation. One War Department officer wrote to Milton Eisenhower: "General DeWitt recommended that these papers be allowed to go out of business and thus remove a possible source of transmitting Japanese propaganda hidden in

the complex Japanese language. This request was reviewed by the Committee on War Information and did not receive favorable consideration."

The Committee on War Information was composed of the Postmaster General, Director of the Office of Facts and Figures, Director of the Office of Censorship, Attorney General and Secretary of War. Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy also wrote that the Committee on War Information desired the issue to be solved flexibly. "At this time it is not proposed [by the committee] to resort to blanket prohibition of foreign press publications; each publication is to be considered on the merits of the case presented against it."

Noting a decision ought to be made in light of each periodical's "loyalty," McCloy said if "any subversive or pro-Axis matter" was discovered in any paper, it would be reported to the War Department and Postmaster General through the FBI, and then the War Department would notify its decision to the FBI. Nevertheless, McCloy proposed the Japanese press be permitted to continue. "In view of the above, the Japanese publications . . . should be allowed to move to the resettlement areas if there is no objection on the part of the [WRA]." These officials were also convinced that at this point it would be safe to permit the Japanese papers to continue as long as they exercised self-control.[44]

Nichi Bei's Transfer Denied

Despite these high-ranking officials' support, the *Nichi Bei*'s petition was dismissed for two major reasons. First, officials could not find an appropriate community that would accept the paper and its staff. The WRA's opinion survey of Del Rey found that the majority of influential local residents — company owners, members of the Chamber of Commerce, newspaper publishers and editors, farmers, sheriffs, and even Japanese American residents — were largely negative, or even resentful, about the paper's relocation.

In addition, local residents broke the windows of a building leased by the *Nichi Bei*. This made the WRA feel anxious if "any untoward incidents arising out of relocation there might more than cancel the benefits." The WRA considered the Lone Pine district near Manzanar, California, as an alternative location because the place provided a good access to some internment camps and, more essentially, because the WRA found "[the *Nichi Bei*] and staff would not be welcome in Salt Lake City or perhaps any other intermountain city and too much work would be involved in ironing out local prejudice." This alternative plan did not materialize either.[45]

Second, and more fundamentally, the plan was dropped due to the persistent opposition by General John DeWitt of the WDC. As the commander of the WDC that possessed jurisdiction over the West Coast military zones, DeWitt had the final authority to determine the fate of the *Nichi Bei*. In a memorandum dated May 3, he clarified his no-exception policy by saying: "It is not my intention to permit any Japanese newspaper . . . to resume publication in the [WDC's territory]." As the head of the military agency in charge of securing stability on the West Coast, his primary objective was to eliminate any possible source of espionage, sabotage, or propaganda even at the expense of the Japanese-language press' potential usefulness.

At the very least, unlike civilian officials of the WRA and Justice Department, General DeWitt did not have much sensitivity to carefully calculate the costs in civil liberties as opposed to the military safety of the coastal areas. "The military found it easier to clamp down on everything than to exercise the difficult practice of judgment," wrote Attorney General Francis Biddle. DeWitt's deep suspicion about the Japanese race could also have been a factor of his persistent refusal. DeWitt once noted, "The continued presence of a large, unassimilated, tightly knit racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom and religion along a frontier vulnerable to attack constituted a menace which had to be dealt with." He conceded only that the WRA may have had an authority to initiate Japanese-language publications within the internment camps. "After the movement to resettlement areas is completed," DeWitt wrote, "the matter of the publication of Japanese language newspapers will be the concern of the [WRA]." But DeWitt had no intention to permit such a project in the West Coast military areas.[46]

In response, the WRA made one final attempt to realize the *Nichi Bei*'s relocation. The WRA proposed to let the *Nichi Bei* continue by putting it under strict governmental control. One WRA Information Division officer reported, "We have made known to the [WDC] our interest in seeing that the Japanese press is preserved, subject to such censorship as may be imposed by Federal agencies having such authority." But the WRA recognized that DeWitt had the ultimate authority to settle the issue. The report read that "It has been for the Army to say whether it is safe for a group of Japanese to go into a community, and it has not been our place to question any such decision." General DeWitt did not change his mind.[47]

Meanwhile, the editors of the *Kashu Mainichi* also attempted to negotiate with officials to keep publishing under direct governmental supervision. But the paper eventually gave up the idea. When the paper

closed on March 21, the editors explained their unsuccessful efforts as follows:

> We have sought means of continuing our paper by moving the staff and equipment to an area outside military zones, but because our publisher, Sei Fujii, has been detained, and because we can foresee no situation in which we may have sufficient subscriptions, this plan has been abandoned.
>
> We also had planned to turn over our entire facilities and personnel to government authorities for the duration and to continue publication under government supervision, but for the same reasons, this plan was, too, scrapped.[48]

Thus, all Japanese-language newspapers were uprooted from the West Coast by the end of May. The *Nichi Bei* closed on May 16, giving only a brief explanation about the behind-the-scenes relocation negotiations: "Applications have been made with the proper authorities for resumption of operations, but inasmuch as the exclusion orders for this area have been given, we must temporarily suspend publication with this issue."[49]

Government's Use of Japanese-Language Press

Finally and parenthetically, this was not the end of the federal government's Japanese-language press control policy. Officials in Washington saw these papers as useful resources for the post-evacuation policies, such as the publishing of newspapers in camps and anti-Japan propaganda programs abroad.

The government seized the printing equipment of papers that had been closed in order to publish newspapers inside the internment camps. From the earliest stage, the WRA planned to allow evacuees to publish a newspaper in each camp. WRA Director Milton Eisenhower noted in an April 27 memo that "[s]o far as I am concerned, the newspaper problem is licked" and that each internment camp "will issue its own local newspaper." The WRA might have used the Japanese type of the closing papers for this project. John Bird, the WRA Director of Information, proposed "we should take immediate steps to inventory and get hold of all Japanese newspaper type that might otherwise be destroyed or lost . . . . We could . . . pool this type for use of cooperative newspapers on relocation projects."[50]

The federal government also used the Japanese type obtained from the Japanese-language press for its own propaganda programs abroad.

One WRA information officer reported that the Committee on War Information "bought a considerable amount of type from liquidated Japanese newspapers and is now making arrangements for a Japanese print shop at the University of California to handle pamphlets, leaflets, and other . . . propaganda material." Shichinosuke Asano, then the managing editor of the *Nichi Bei*, also recollected that when his newspaper closed the authorities seized the Japanese type and used it for anti-Japan propaganda in the Philippines and some other places.[51]

Coercion and Self-Control

The federal government's Japanese-language press control policy after Pearl Harbor was unique in that the government effectively regulated the Japanese newspapers by employing varying degrees of coercive measures and eliciting their self-control. This self-censorship by coercion differentiates the government's treatment of the Japanese press from other racial or ethnic minority presses. It also illustrates how the federal government understood the press control issue in light of its democratic war cause. Intriguingly enough, this dual press control policy by coercion and self-restraint resembles the methods the federal government employed to regulate newspapers in wartime internment camps and in post-war occupied Japan.

During the first month after Pearl Harbor, the government enforced various coercive measures on the Japanese newspapers. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the FBI detained major publishers and editors and even suspended some publications. Although officials lifted suspension of major newspapers some time later, they ordered the editors to submit every Japanese article with accurate English translations to the post office before publication.

After the initial surge of these coercive measures, the federal government kept controlling them by relatively less restrictive means. Various government agencies supplied official announcements, orders, and other information materials to these papers and thus molded their reportorial and editorial content. Officials regularly made contact with them and suggested editorial direction through informal "talks." In fact, the government never enforced outright, institutional censorship in a technical sense by compelling them to submit all pre-publication items for strict word-by-word inspection. In theory, the Japanese press was able to operate "freely."

However, the absence of formal censorship and licensing hardly meant the Japanese newspapers could report and editorialize without constraints. Arrests of publishers and key editors, fear of further arrests and interrogation, and continuous monitoring by the post office caused

most Japanese newspapers to pledge full loyalty to the United States and exercise strict self-control. Self-censorship became the only option when other wartime conditions, such as the rise of the anti-Japanese social climate and declining revenues, made them particularly vulnerable. Thus, all Japanese papers readily complied with mass internment. The *Rafu Shimpo*'s "A Statement of Policy" is probably most indicative of the Japanese press' deferential position. It declared that the paper "is to secure cheerful compliance with regulations among alien Japanese, to bolster morale, prevent hysteria, and foster a deeper appreciation among resident Japanese of American ideals and democracy."[52]

All these enabled the federal government effectively to control the Japanese newspapers without imposing coercive measures all the time. Given their all-out voluntary cooperation and self-control, it was almost unthinkable that they would carry subversive information. Even if officials doubted the Japanese newspapers' compliance, they could always check their reporting by their English translations. Few government officials actually spoke critically of their relationship with the Japanese-language press. The government could sufficiently accomplish its goal without resorting to outright censorship.

Most fundamentally, the significance of this coercive self-censorship strategy was that the government could avoid overt violation of freedom of speech, the first of the "Four Freedoms" for which the United States was fighting. As President Roosevelt's statement that "[the United States] must be the great arsenal of Democracy" also suggests, it was mandatory for Washington to embody its democratic ideals both at home and abroad. This made the government officials less willing to censor the domestic press in the absence of martial law.

The treatment of Japanese Americans was also a crucial test for Washington. The Director of the OWI, Elmer Davis, wrote to President Roosevelt that the way the government would treat Japanese Americans "is of great interest to OWI" in order to combat "Japanese propaganda [which] insists that this is a racial war." At the same time, however, concentration of the people of the enemy race on the West Coast required the government to adopt harsher policies toward the Japanese press than other minority presses.[53]

Self-censorship by coercion reconciled these conflicting considerations. By eliciting the Japanese newspapers' voluntary restraint through a series of both coercive and less coercive measures, the federal government could effectively and justifiably control and make use of the Japanese-language newspapers without grossly violating its own democratic principles, something that had already taken place on a grander scale with the mass internment of Japanese Americans.

Finally, it must be pointed out that this pseudo-democratic method became a precedent of the federal government's subsequent press control policies during and after the war. First, American officials used a similar combination of coercion and self-regulation to control internment camp newspapers. After mass internment, the Japanese in the United States restore full freedom of speech and the press, and some restarted newspapers. Secondly, the government brought a similar press control policy abroad after the war. The American Occupation forces enforced relatively less strict censorship policies in occupied Japan, relying on Japanese journalists' self-restraint. Self-censorship by coercion during the first several months after Peal Harbor was just a beginning of what would become later a more established way of press control by the "democratic" government of the United States.[54]

Endnotes

[1]Cited in Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.41; James M. Bergquist, "The German-American Press," in Sally M. Miller, *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp.131-159.

[2]Cited in Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, p.41; Jim A. Richstad, "The Press under Martial Law: The Hawaiian Experience," *Journalism Monographs* No.17 (November 1970); Tom Brislin, "Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage: Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press," *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs* No.154 (December 1995).

If not specifically mentioned, "Japanese Americans" or "Japanese" in this study refers to "all people of Japanese ancestry living in America regardless of their classification." Accordingly, the term "the Japanese American press," "Japanese-language press," or "Japanese press" means the native language publications issued by the Japanese immigrants and/or their offspring residing in the United States.

In some places, this study uses specific terms such as "Issei" and "Nisei." "Issei" denotes the first generation of immigrants who were born in Japan and came to the United States around the turn of the last century. Since the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act, the Issei had not been allowed to become naturalized citizens. This continued until 1952. "Nisei" is the second generation who were born in the United States and thereby American citizens. Nearly 70,000 of the evacuees were these American citizen Nisei.

[3]Previous research about the foreign-language and ethnic press mainly deals with the European-language press and do not provide detailed accounts about the Japanese-language press. See Robert Ezra Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922); Joseph S. Roucek, "Foreign-Language Press in World War II," *Sociology and Social Research* Vo.27, No.6 (July-August 1943): pp.462-471; Jerzy Zubrzycki, "The Role of the Foreign-Language Press in Migrant Integration," *Population Studies* Vol.12, No.1 (July 1958): pp.73-82; Edward Hunter, *In Many Voices: Our Fabulous Foreign-Language Press* (Norman Park, GA: Norman College, 1960); Joshua A. Fishman, Robert G. Hayden, and Mary E. Warshauer, "The Non-English and the Ethnic Group Press, 1910-1960," in Joshua A. Fishman, et al., eds., *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1966), pp.51-74; Lubomyr R. Wynar and Anna T. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States* 2nd ed., (Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1976); Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1984); Sally M. Miller, *The Ethnic Press in the*

United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).

Even ones that mention the Japanese newspapers provide only a handful of oral accounts of former Japanese journalists, their autobiographical sketches, and overview of basic facts. Moreover, these secondary sources describe the issue from the perspectives of the Japanese journalists and their publications. See Dorothy Anne Stroup, "The Role of the Japanese-American Press in its Community," M.A. thesis, the University of California, 1960; Shichinosuke Asano, *Zaibei Yonjunen: Watashi no Kiroku* (Tokyo: Yuki Shobo, 1962); Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* 2nd ed., (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976); Nihon Shinbun Kyokai, ed., *Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi* No.9 (October 1979); Fuyuko Kamisaka, *Obaachan no Utah Nippo* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1985).

Some studies examine the newspapers published within the internment camps. But they provide little knowledge about the federal government's Japanese press control policy during the first six months after Pearl Harbor. See John Stevens, "From Behind Barbed Wire: Freedom of the Press in World War II Japanese Centers," *Journalism Quarterly* Vol.48, No.2 (Summer 1971): pp.279-287; Jay Friedlander, "Journalism Behind Barbed Wire, 1942-44: An Arkansas Relocation Center Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly* Vol.62, No.2 (Summer 1985): pp.243-246, 271; E. J. Friedlander, "Freedom of Press Behind Barbed Wire: Paul Yokota and the Jerome Relocation Center Newspaper," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* Vol.44, No.4 (Winter 1985): pp.303-313; Lauren Kessler, "Fettered Freedoms: The Journalism of World War II: Japanese Internment Camps," *Journalism History* Vol.15, No.2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1988): pp.70-79; James Omura, "Japanese American Journalism During World War II," in Gail M. Nomura, Russell Endo, Stephen H. Sumida, and Russell C. Leong, eds., *Frontiers of Asian American Studies: Writing, Research, and Commentary* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1989), pp.71-77; Bill Hosokawa, "The Sentinel Story," in Mike Mackey, ed., *Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming* (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 1998), pp.63-73.

[4]Togo Tanaka, "The Vernacular Newspapers," Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 106, File: W1.95, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (Hereafter, the library is cited "Bancroft, UCB"); Brian Masaru Hayashi, *'For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren': Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism Among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), p.4.

[5]The documents of the post office could not be attained for this research. But they will be used for the future development of this study.

[6]Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, pp.150-166; Kessler, *The Dissident Press*, pp.106-107; J. Percy H. Johnson, ed., *N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia, PA: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1942), pp.1228-1229; Tanaka, "The Vernacular Newspapers," Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 106, File: W1.95, Bancroft, UCB. For the history of the Japanese press, see also, Kazuo Abiko, "California's Japanese-American Press, 1941-1942: Voices of the Uprooted Minority," M.A. thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1979; Kaori Hayashi, "History of The Rafu Shimpo: Evolution of a Japanese-American Newspaper, 1903-1942," M.A. thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1990.

[7]"Pre-Evacuation Trends in Japanese American Life," Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 106, File: W2.01, Bancroft, UCB; Tom Yamazaki, to Robert Brown, Assistant Project Director, Manzanar Relocation Center, "Report to Robert Brown on the Basic Philosophy of a Japanese Language Paper in a Relocation Center," n.d., p.11, Record Group 210, Entry 48, Box 272, Tule Lake Relocation Center Central Files, File 210, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, MD. (Hereafter, the National Archives and Record Administration is cited "NARA.")

[8]Tanaka, "The Vernacular Newspapers," Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 106, File: W1.95, Bancroft, UCB; "Pre-Evacuation Trends in Japanese American Life: Relationships to Japan Newspapers," Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 106, File: W2.01, Bancroft, UCB.

[9]Togo Tanaka, "Journal," 2 March 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 11, File: A17.07, Bancroft, UCB.

[10]Grodzins, Morton. *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1949); Thomas H. Heuterman, "The Japanese Americans," in Beverly Ann Deepe Keever, et al., eds., *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook, 1934-1996* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), p.216.

After the war was over, most evacuees returned to the West Coast, and the Japanese press made a

modest recovery. By April 1959, the Japanese had 10 publications, including six dailies, with an estimated circulation of 38,040. See Yaroslav J. Chyz, "225 Years of the U.S. Foreign Language Press: Notes on its Influence, History and Present Status," (New York: American Council for Nationalities Service, 1959), pp.10-11.

[11]For more discussion about the FBI's surveillance, see Bob Kumamoto, "The Search for Spies: American Counterintelligence and the Japanese American Community 1931-1942," *Amerasia Journal* Vol.6, No.2 (Fall 1979): pp.45-75; Pedro A. Loureiro, "Japanese Espionage and American Countermeasures in Pre-Pearl Harbor California," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* Vol.3, No.3 (Fall 1994): pp.197-210.

[12]Tanaka, "Journal," 14 January 1942; Abiko, "California's Japanese-American Press, 1941-1942," p.122.

[13]"Junko Maruya," in *Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi* p.107; Trading-with-the-Enemy Act, 6 October 1917, 40 Stat. 411. Section 19 of the law read: "Any person who shall make an affidavit containing any false statement [will] be punished by a fine of not more than $500, or by imprisonment of not more than one year, or, ... may be both fined and imprisoned."

[14]Hayashi, "History of The Rafu Shimpo," p.307.

[15]"Akira Komai," in *Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi* p.77; Tanaka, "Journal," 20 December 1941.

[16]*Rafu Shimpo* 10 December 1941: pp.2-3; "Mina Sama He No Onegai," *Rafu Shimpo* 13 December 1941: p.3.

The JACL was established by some middle-class, educated, older Nisei in Seattle in 1930. It was virtually the only nationally recognized Japanese American organizarion before and during the war. When the war erupted, the JACL immediately declared its full support of the federal government. The JACL cooperated with the evacuation and internment program and established a strong alliance with the WRA. However, due to its acquiescence to mass internment, the organization was unpopular among the general Japanese Americans. For previous studies about the JACL, see Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow, 1969); Bill Hosokawa, *JACL: In Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow, 1982); Jere Takahashi, "Japanese American Responses to Race Relations: The Formation of Nisei Perspectives," *Amerasia Journal* Vol.9, No.1 (1982): pp.29-57; Paul R. Spickard, "The Nisei Assume Power: The Japanese Citizens League, 1941-1942," *Pacific Historical Review* Vol.52, No.2 (May 1983): pp.147-174.

[17]"Kazuma Ikezoe," in *Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi* p.35; Asano, *Zaibei Yonjunen*, pp.72-73.

[18]Togo Tanaka, "Addenda to a Report on the Manzanar Riot of Sunday, December 6, 1942," Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 158, File: O10.14, Bancroft, UCB; Norio Tamura, *Han-Fascism no Shinbun 'Doho,' 1937-1942* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 1988); "Fujii, Ex-Doho Editor, Takes Government Job," *Pacific Citizen* 30 July 1942: p.1.

[19]Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, p.60.

[20]N. R. Howard, Press Division, Office of Censorship, to Clifford Forster, Staff Counsel, ACLU, 25 April 1942, Reel: 209, Vol.2419, p.208, ACLU: The Baldwin Years 1917-1950, Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Alan Cranston, Chief of Foreign Language Division, Office of Facts and Figures, to Roger Baldwin, Executive Director, ACLU, 16 April 1942, Reel: 210, Vol.2434, p.199, Ibid.

[21]"Kazuma Ikezoe," in *Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi* p.35; Yasuo Abiko, President, *Nichi Bei*, to Col. Karl Bendetsen, Assistant Chief of Staff in Charge of Civil Affairs, WDC, 2 April 1942, Record Group 107, Entry 183, Decimals 014.311, Box 8, File WDC Civilian Restrictive Orders, NARA, College Park, M.D.

[22]"We Pledge," *Nichi Bei* 29 December 1941: p.1.

[23]"Announcement," *Rafu Shimpo* 11 December 1941: p.1; "A Statement of Policy," *Rafu Shimpo* 5 February 1942: p.1; "Notice," *Kashu Mainichi* English Section (*California Daily News*), 20 December 1942: p.1.

[24]Karl Ichiro Akiya, "Kobe kara Utah Shu Topaz made no Michi," *Han* No.3 (December 1986): p.144; Tanaka, "Journal," 24 December 1941. See also, Tanaka, "Journal," 9 January 1942, 19 January 1942, 23 January 1942, 2 March 1942.

[25]Tanaka, "Journal," 20 December 1941; Tanaka, "Journal," 2 March 1942.

[26]Joan Myers and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II* (Seattle,

WA: University of Washington Press, 1996), pp.94-95; "To Our Readers," *Kashu Mainichi* English Section (*California Daily News*), 22 December 1942: p.1; "A Statement of Policy," *Rafu Shimpo* 5 February 1942: p.1.

[27]Harry H. L. Kitano, "The Japanese-American Press," in Miller, *The Ethnic Press in the United States*, p.192 (see also, Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, p.4.); *Doho* 23 April 1941: p.4; "To Our Readers," *Kashu Mainichi* English Section (*California Daily News*), 22 December 1942: p.1; "Notice," *Kashu Mainichi* English Section (*California Daily News*), 21 March 1942: p.6.

[28]Tanaka, "Journal," 23 December, 1941.

[29]Tanaka, "Journal," 14 March 1942.

[30]Tanaka, "Journal," 2 March 1942.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Joe Inouye, Managing Editor, and Togo Tanaka, Editor, *Rafu Shimpo*, to Lieutenant-Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen, WDC, 14 March 1942, in Tanaka, "Journal," 14 March 1942; Tanaka, "Journal," 2 March 1942.

[34]"Announcement," *Nichi Bei* English Section, 16 May 1942: p.1; "Doho To Evacuate by April 29," *Doho* 23 April 1941: p.4; *Rafu Shimpo* 4 April 1942 cited in Tanaka, "Journal," 4 April 1942. After the April 23 issue, the *Doho* managed to publish one more issue on May 5. It read: "Although *Doho's* shop has been evacuated, through other arrangements we have been fortunately able to present this issue to our readers. We still hope to continue in the future." ("To Doho Readers," *Doho* 5 May 1941: p.1.)

[35]"Notice," *Kashu Mainichi* English Section (*California Daily News*), 21 March 1942: p.6.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Yasuo Abiko, President, *Nichi Bei*, to Col. Karl Bendetsen, Assistant Chief of Staff in Charge of Civil Affairs, WDC, 2 April 1942, Record Group 107, Entry 183, Decimals 014.311, Box 8, File WDC Civilian Restrictive Orders, NARA, College Park, M.D; Japanese American News, Inc., "Memorandum," 7 May 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 83, File: T5.09, Bancroft, UCB.

[38]Yasuo Abiko, President, *Nichi Bei*, to Col. Karl Bendetsen, Assistant Chief of Staff in Charge of Civil Affairs, WDC, 2 April 1942, Record Group 107, Entry 183, Decimals 014.311, Box 8, File WDC Civilian Restrictive Orders, NARA, College Park, M.D.

[39]Yasuo Abiko, President, *Nichi Bei*, to John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, War Department, 4 April 1942, Record Group 107, Entry 183, Decimals 014.311, Box 8, File WDC Civilian Restrictive Orders, NARA, College Park, M.D.; Yasuo Abiko, *Nichi Bei*, to John Bird, 25 April 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[40]Yasuo Abiko, President, *Nichi Bei*, to John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, War Department, 4 April 1942, Record Group 107, Entry 183, Decimals 014.311, Box 8, File WDC Civilian Restrictive Orders, NARA, College Park, M.D.; Japanese American News, Inc., "Memorandum," 7 May 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 83, File: T5.09, Bancroft, UCB.

[41]"Memo from John Bird to Mr. Eisenhower," 6 April 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 42, File: F1.022, Bancroft, UCB.

[42]Ibid; Edwin Bates, Chief, Information Service, to John Bird, Director of Information, "Attitude of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army toward Publication of Japanese Newspapers," 15 May 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 172, File 22,430, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[43]"Memo from John Bird to Mr. Eisenhower," 6 April 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 42, File: F1.022, Bancroft, UCB; George D. Dean, Senior Information Specialists WRA, San Francisco Regional Office, "Report on Sentiment in Del Rey, California: On Relocation There of Japanese Newspaper, The Nichi Bei," 29 April 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 6, File: A16.11, Bancroft, UCB.

[44]Ralph H. Tare, Colonel, General Staff Executive, to Milton Eisenhower, 24 April 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.; John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, "Memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2," 22 April 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[45]George D. Dean, Senior Information Specialists WRA, San Francisco Regional Office, "Report on Sentiment in Del Rey, California: On Relocation There of Japanese Newspaper, The Nichi Bei," 29 April 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 6, File: A16.11, Bancroft, UCB; George D. Dean, "Review of Anti-Japanese Incidents and Local Sentiment in Fresno and Tulare Counties, California," 30 April 1942, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 6, File: A16.11, Bancroft, UCB; John A. Bird, Director of Information, to Esther B. Rhoads, American Friends Service Committee, 6 May 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Edwin Bates, to John A. Bird, Director of Information, 24 April 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[46]John DeWitt, to Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs, WDC, 3 May 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 172, File 22,430, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Francis Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962), p.186; Cited in Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States 1941-1945* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1972), p.63.

[47]Edwin Bates, Chief, Information Service, to John Bird, Director of Information, "Attitude of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army toward Publication of Japanese Newspapers," 15 May 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 172, File 22,430, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[48]"Notice," *Kashu Mainichi* English Section (*California Daily News*), 21 March 1942: p.6.

[49]"Announcement," *Nichi Bei* English Section, 16 May 1942: p.1.

[50]Milton Eisenhower, Director, WRA, to John Bird, Director of Information, WRA, "Newspaper Problem," 27 April 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.; John Bird, to Edwin Bates, Chief, Information Service, WRA, 21 April 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[51]Morrill M. Tozier, to Edwin Bates, Director of Information, WRA, 6 May 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.; "Shichinosuke Asano," in *Kikitori de Tsuzuru Shinbunshi* p.35.

[52]"A Statement of Policy," *Rafu Shimpo* 5 February 1942: p.1.

[53]Fireside Chat, 29 December 1940; Elmer Davis, Director, OWI, to President Roosevelt, 2 October 1942, Record Group 220, Box 119, File 9: Protest and Disaffection, NARA, College Park, MD.

[54]For previous studies about the internment camp press, see endnote 3. For studies about press censorship in occupied Japan, see Jun Eto, "The Censorship Operation in Occupied Japan," in Jane Leftwich Curry and Joan R. Dassin, eds., *Press Control Around the World* (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp.235-253; Marlene J. Mayo, "Civil Censorship and Media Control in Early Occupied Japan: From Minimum to Stringent Surveillance," in Robert Wolfe, ed., *Americans as Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), pp.263-515; Monica Braw, *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991); Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema Under the American Occupation, 1945-1952* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1992); Teruo Ayiyama, *Senryoki Mediashi Kenkyu: Jiyu to Tosei 1945* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 1996)

Covering Contraception: Discourses of Gender, Motherhood and Sexuality in Women's Magazines, 1938-1969

By Dolores Flamiano

As birth control became legally and socially acceptable in the 1930s, the media provided an important forum for public debates on this controversial subject. With the development of the birth control pill in the late 1950s and its growing popularity in the '60s, the media's role expanded to include the dissemination of practical contraceptive information. This study examines patterns of contraceptive coverage in women's magazines throughout this period, focusing on shifting discourses of femininity, women's maternal role and female sexuality.

The widespread practice of birth control in the 20th century has profoundly affected women's lives, contributing to dramatic changes in the family and the workplace and shaping the course of feminism and the rhetoric of reproductive rights. The media have played an important role in public discourse on this controversial topic. As media historian Cynthia Goldstein has argued, the press helped make birth control (stigmatized by law and social custom) a comfortable subject for public conversation.[1]

Birth control began to appear in mainstream periodicals in 1915, largely because of the activities of the birth control movement led by Margaret Sanger. Among the first publications to explore the debate were

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Harper's Weekly and *The New Republic*, which generally favored making contraceptive information legally available.[2]

More than 20 years after initial birth control coverage by the press, women's magazines began to address the issue. This article examines coverage of contraception in women's magazines, focusing not only on the content of the coverage, but also its discursive constructions of gender and sexuality. The study covers the period from 1938 to 1969, which brought changes in birth control laws, increased media attention to sexuality, and the introduction of oral contraceptives. One reason women's magazines began covering birth control during the '30s was that birth control became legally available; thus, a debate over public policy and morality became a matter of personal choice. Similarly, birth control coverage in women's magazines expanded dramatically in the '60s with the birth of "the Pill," which has received credit, as well as blame, for ushering in the sexual revolution. According to historian Elizabeth Siegel Watkins, the popular press helped to shape and re-shape public opinion of the pill in the '60s.[3]

Topic's First Appearance

Initial research for this article was aimed at identifying the first publication of a birth control article in a women's consumer magazine, by searching under "birth control" and "contraceptives" in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature Index*, beginning in 1915.[4] The first such article appeared in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1938. From 1938 to 1969, the *Ladies' Home Journal* published 15 articles about birth control.

Other women's magazines that published birth control articles during this period (and the number of articles) were: *Good Housekeeping* (13), *McCall's* (6), *Redbook* (3), and *Woman's Home Companion* (2). These five widely circulated publications are part of the "Seven Sisters" family of magazines, characterized by their service orientation and their editorial focus on the traditional roles and responsibilities of women (including fashion, cooking, childcare and housekeeping).[5] Excluding the *Woman's Home Companion* (defunct since 1957), they are still published today. Articles were also found in *Vogue* and *Mademoiselle;* they were not included in this study because these magazines offered different editorial content and served different audiences from the "Seven Sisters" magazines.[6]

An analysis of 30 years of birth control coverage in the *Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Redbook* and *Woman's Home Companion* revealed changing attitudes toward contraception, as well as

shifting and sometimes contradictory discourses of gender, motherhood, and sexuality. Although initial coverage in 1938 reflected public acceptance of contraception, wartime and post-war coverage celebrated motherhood and women's responsibility to their "biological natures." After a period of silence during the baby boom of the '50s, birth control returned to women's magazines in the '60s with the advent of the birth control pill. Coverage during the '60s suggested that the pill was breaking down the old sexual double standard, and with it dominant notions of appropriate gender roles.

Gender Ideology in Women's Magazines

Women's magazines are a rich source of information about the social construction of gender and sexuality during different periods of American history. As historian Maxine L. Margolis has noted, despite the limitations of these sources (that is, strong racial, class, and sometimes regional biases), they can still "tell us something about ideological trends" that helped to shape women's ideas about themselves.[7]

It is important to note, however, that for the greater part of this century (until the 1970s in many cases) women's magazines were written and edited mainly by men. In many instances, therefore, what they tell us may be "no more than male formulations of ideal female behavior."[8] Women's magazines have advised women how to cook, how to find and keep a husband, and how to raise children. Media scholar Linda Steiner has pointed out that this advice and instruction has "a specific subtext" because much "of the editorial content is dictated by the interests of advertisers."[9]

This combination of consumer ideology and gender ideology has helped to shape birth control coverage throughout the period of this article. For instance, editorial support was weakest when birth control seemed to threaten both family consumption levels and traditional gender roles. Editorial support was mixed, however, when the pill made birth control a lucrative commodity, even while it further chipped away at gender roles.

Of the magazines included in this article, the *Ladies' Home Journal* deserves special attention for several reasons. It was the only magazine that offered birth control coverage throughout the period 1938 to 1969, and it published more articles on the subject than the others. It is also noteworthy as an exemplar of its genre; as media historian Kathleen L. Endres has pointed out, it is the "grand old lady" among women's magazines, maintaining a multimillion readership well into its second century of publica-

tion.[10] The *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Woman's Home Companion* (which stopped publication in the late '50s) were the only magazines to cover contraception in the '30s and '40s. *Good Housekeeping*, *McCall's*, and *Redbook* began covering birth control in the early '60s.

The *Ladies' Home Journal* was created in 1883 as part of a new generation of magazines that began as advertising vehicles. These magazines depended on middle-class subscribers "who were ready to buy consumer goods advertised in an appropriate fashion."[11] The *Journal* began as a column in Cyrus H. K. Curtis' weekly newspaper, *Tribune and Farmer* (It was edited by Mrs. Curtis, the publisher's wife). The successful column gradually grew until it became a magazine in 1883, and by November 1889 the circulation of the *Ladies' Home Journal* reached one million.[12] Its success has been attributed to a winning combination of editorial, advertising and circulation policies.

According to Jennifer Scanlon's study of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, it "offered the right mix of abundant reading on decorating tips, needlework patterns, fiction, and plenty of romance" and its publisher "wisely accepted only high-grade advertising and reset many ads for a more pleasing appearance."[13] To ensure a healthy circulation, the magazine offered generous rewards to subscription agents (including cash prizes of up to $500 for the top agent in 1884).[14]

Cultural historians and critics have analyzed the *Journal* as a triumph for consumerism and a remarkable study of mixed messages about women's proper role in the modern world. Scanlon, for instance, argues that the *Journal* served up a steady diet of mixed messages and did so in "a fairly convincing, aesthetically appealing, and enormously successful way." Amidst all the mixed messages in the magazine, one theme has remained remarkably resilient from the *Journal's* founding until today: the importance of motherhood.

In its early days, the magazine helped to boost "the sugary cult of motherhood."[15] According to Edward Bok, an early and respected *Journal* editor, "a mother was still the 'fountainhead' of the home and her 'civilizing force' was undiminished because 'man in the outer world is her emissary carrying out the ideas she implants in his mind.'"[16] The cult of motherhood and domesticity never really died, although it was weakened in the 1940s as women moved into the work force in large numbers. In the postwar period, motherhood returned with a vengeance.[17] As Douglas has observed, this resurgence of maternalism can be seen in 1950s advertising campaigns for consumer products such as Ipana toothpaste, which changed its slogan from "Can a MODEL mother be a model MOTHER?" to "It's more fun being a mother than a model."[18]

This article focuses on how women's magazines have contributed to media discourses on birth control, gender and sexuality. The decision to limit the study to women's magazines (rather than, for example, including news magazines) is based on the genre's popularity with women and its commercial success. Because birth control is a subject of special concern to women (whose health and well-being are directly affected by pregnancy, childbirth and child care), it seems appropriate to examine how a women's genre covered the issue and how it reconciled possible conflicts between birth control and dominant ideologies of motherhood and gender.

Although they have not been taken as seriously by media scholars as news magazines and newspapers, women's magazines are important to study because they reveal ideological trends and their historical evolution. They offer insights into social constructions of gender, particularly in areas such as femininity, motherhood and sexuality. And although they have been criticized for offering predominantly traditional gender norms (in part because of their close ties to advertisers), women's magazines also reveal the constant tension between idealized norms of femininity and women's lived experience. Scholars interested in women's place in mass communication should take women's magazines seriously because they are one of the few media forms that have taken women's concerns seriously, as Helen Damon-Moore has observed:

> [Naomi Wolf] points out that women's magazines have been important repositories of female culture in American society for years. She argues that magazines for younger and older women are the only products of popular culture that take women's concerns seriously, that change with women's reality, and that are mostly written by women about women's issues.[19]

While recognizing the cultural significance of women's magazines, it is also important to remember that their content is influenced to a large degree by advertisements for "beauty trappings" and household products. The unfortunate but inevitable result of the relationship between advertising and editorial content is that "[f]emininity continues to be defined by what women buy; and commerce continues to rely on the shorthand of gender norms in order to sell products."[20] The relationship between editorial content and advertising in terms of birth control coverage is an interesting question, but unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this study.[21]

This study examines 30 years of birth control coverage in the *Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Redbook* and *Woman's Home Companion* from 1938 to 1969. The 37 articles included here do not represent a complete compilation of birth control coverage in women's magazines from the '30s to the '60s, but only the most direct and explicit coverage of the issue. A more thorough study of the discursive construction of birth control might include articles about related topics, such as changes in birth rates, ideal family size, and childbirth. Many of these articles not only encouraged motherhood but warned against the dangers of remaining childless or postponing childbearing.[22] The maternal ideologies embedded in such articles help explain why birth control coverage dwindled to nothing in the post-War years.[23]

The 37 articles that directly discussed contraception comprise the primary sources for the study. The following analysis is qualitative and historical, examining media discourse as a terrain of struggle in which competing ideologies are developed and debated. The understanding of discourse informing this paper is grounded in the theories of cultural studies scholars such as John Fiske, who defines discourse as "a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic area."[24] Discourse reflects power relationships and its "meanings serve the interests of that section of society within which the discourse originates and which works ideologically to naturalize those meanings into common sense."[25] Gender and sexuality are two areas in which meanings are often accepted as common sense. The focus will be on how articles about birth control constructed gender and sexuality, also noting the historical contexts in which these constructions occurred.

The analysis will begin by examining coverage of birth control in women's magazines in the '30s and '40s. Articles published during this period, although few in number, offered an important glimpse into the conflict-ridden relationship between contraception and the gender ideologies prevalent in American society. A conspicuous lapse in birth control coverage in women's magazines occurred in the '50s. An examination of the birth control rhetoric in religious, news and scientific publications during that decade will suggest possible reasons for this lapse. The discussion will then turn to the '60s, a period in which "the Pill" dominated birth control coverage. Issues covered in the '60s include the safety of the pill, alternatives to the pill, the emotional impact of the pill, and religious debates surrounding the pill.

For an overview of birth control coverage in women's magazines, see **Tables 1-3. Table 1** gives a summary of articles by decade, **Table 2** provides a breakdown of articles by topic, and **Table 3** lists each magazine's articles chronologically. As the numbers indicate, coverage was sparse in the '30s and '40s, absent in the '50s, and relatively heavy during the '60s (especially in *Good Housekeeping* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*), with a focus on the pill.

Table 1: Number of Birth Control Articles, by Decade and Publication

	1938-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969
Good Housekeeping	0	0	13
Ladies' Home Journal	5	0	10
McCall's	0	0	6
Redbook	0	0	3
Woman's Home Companion	2	0	*

*stopped publication.

Table 2: Number of Birth Control Articles, by Topic and Publication

	Pill	Other Methods	Church	Personal Narrative	Editorial	Poll
Good Housekeeping	7	5	1	0	0	0
Ladies' Home Journal	5	3	1	3	2	1
McCall's	2	2	2	0	0	0
Redbook	2	0	1	0	0	0
Woman's Home Companion	0	0	0	0	1	1

Mixed Messages

Seven articles about birth control were published in women's magazines in the '30s and '40s, five in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and two in *Woman's Home Companion*. Although these magazines were longtime rivals for the top circulation in their niche, they were editorially quite distinct. According to journalism historian Kathleen L. Endres, the *Journal* has consistently been "a conservative spokesman for the role of women in society," while the *Companion* "took more courageous editorial stands," including support for birth control.[26]

Table 3: Birth Control Articles in Women's Magazines (1938-1969)

Publication	Date	Title
Good Housekeeping	July 1961	*"We Can End the Battle Over Birth Control"*
	Sept. 1962	*"Birth Control Pills: The Full Story"*
	Jan. 1964	*"A Safety Report on Contraceptives"*
	Sept. 1965	*"Birth Control Pills: An Up-to-Date Report"*
	Feb. 1966	*"Must We Now Ban the Birth Control Pills?"*
	April 1966	*"Birth Control Method That May Replace the Pill"*
	Jan. 1967	*"Birth Control: An Up-to-Date Summary"*
	Feb. 1967	*"Should Birth Control Be Available to Unmarried Women?"*
	July 1967	*"Birth Control and Your Emotions"*
	Sept. 1967	*"Search for a Birth Control Method to Replace the Pill"*
	Aug. 1968	*"New Warnings About Birth Control Pills"*
	Feb. 1969	*"Questions Women Ask Most About the Pill"*
	April 1969	*"Birth Control: Is Male Contraception the Answer?"*
Ladies' Home Journal	March 1938	*"What Do the Women of America Think About Birth Control?"*
	June 1946	*"Are You Too Educated to Be a Mother?"*
	April 1947	*"We Don't Want a Baby Now!"*
	May 1947	*"Letters to Joan"*
	May 1949	*"Race Suicide of the Intelligent"*
	June 1963	*"Tell Me, Doctor"*
	Nov. 1965	*"Why Did Birth Control Fail for Me?"*
	March 1966	*"The Secret Drama Behind the Pope's Momentous Decision"*
	Oct. 1966	*"Coming Sooner Than Expected: Birth-Control Shots"*

Table 3: Continued

	July 1967	*"The First Complete Guide to Modern Birth Control"*
	July 1967	*"The Dangers of Birth-Control Operations"*
	July 1967	*"The Terrible Trouble with the Birth-Control Pills"*
	Nov. 1967	*"Our Readers Talk Back About the . . . Birth Control Pills"*
	Jan. 1968	*"Should Doctors Prescribe Contraceptives for Unmarried Girls?"*
	Jan. 1969	*"What 'The Pill' Does to Husbands"*
McCall's	Feb. 1965	*"Now! Something Better Than . . . 'The Pill'?"*
	Feb. 1967	*"Birth Control and the Catholic Church"*
	March 1967	*"Beyond the Pill"*
	Nov. 1967	*"The Pill"*
	Nov. 1968	*"Why They Quit the Pill"*
	Nov. 1968	*"The Pope and the Pill"*
Redbook	Feb. 1963	*"How Safe Are the Birth Control Pills?"*
	July 1965	*"This Baby Will Be My Last; Explanation by a Catholic Mother"*
	Jan. 1966	*"The Pill"*
Woman's Home Companion	Sept. 1938	*"Ask Your Physician"*
	July 1948	*"What Do You Think of Birth Control?"*

Articles in the *Journal* and the *Companion* during the '30s and '40s (three editorials, two polls, a personal narrative, and an advice column) reflected these editorial differences. Two of the editorials (in the *Journal*) criticized birth control, while the *Companion* editorialized in favor of birth control. Both polls (one in each magazine) indicated strong public support for birth control. Other polling organizations also examined attitudes toward birth control several times during the '30s and '40s, and found that the majority of respondents (ranging from 63 to 85 percent) were in favor of making birth control information legally available.[27] The removal of legal restrictions on birth control (for physicians) in 1936 preceded coverage of the topic in women's magazines.

The first article, published in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1938, gave the results of a national survey which concluded that "the women of America" supported birth control. This article is noteworthy not only because it was the first to tackle the controversial subject of birth control from a woman's perspective, but also because of its detached, scientific presentation. Rather than framing the issue for its readers, the *Journal* simply provided the statistics. The *Woman's Home Companion,* however, combined the objectivity of poll results with several memorable quotes from respondents.

"What Do the Women of America Think about BIRTH CONTROL?" That was the question on the cover of the March 1938 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal.* The report was part of a national survey of "the opinions and convictions of the women of the entire nation on the subjects that most concern them."[28] Although the article did not give methodological specifics (that is, personal interviews or mail surveys, sampling methods) it did indicate that a demographically diverse cross-section of women was included. The article also included the following disclaimer:

> The opinion of the editors of the *Journal* is in no way reflected in these articles. The *Journal* is limiting its work to recording and reporting what the women of the nation have to say. In no way, nor in the slightest degree, will it attempt to sway answers. Through its columns, these 37,000,000 women citizens will be heard.[29]

A sidebar summarizing the results of the survey began with the finding that women believed in having children ("98 percent of the mothers said they are glad they have children"). The survey found that:

1. women believe that four children is the ideal number;
2. 79 percent of women "believe in birth control";
3. family income is the most important reason for supporting birth control ("parents should not have more children than they can care for properly"); and
4. "decreasing the number of feeble-minded and physically unfit" is the second most important reason for supporting birth control.[30]

A noteworthy aspect of the survey is that it asked the women "Do you believe in birth control?" rather than asking "Do you practice birth control?" or "What method of birth control do you favor?" The vagueness of the question was perhaps designed to minimize controversy, but it also limited the usefulness of the results.

An accompanying article offered a narrative summary of the survey, with little commentary or analysis. In terms of interpreting the survey results, the article made one strong point: birth control and motherhood are not contradictory.

> The women of America believe in birth control. They believe, just as firmly, in having children. There is no contradiction in these two statements . . . . The news is that a large majority of the women in America —79 percent — are openly, frankly and positively in favor of birth control. And it is their conviction that a subject which has been surrounded by silence should now be openly discussed and dealt with . . . . The women of America believe in having children. A ringing "no" was the answer to the *Journal*'s question, put only to the mothers, "Are you sorry you had children?" Only 2 percent said "yes." And 69 percent of the women with but a single child declared that they wanted at least one more . . . . So the schools of the United States, however birth control knowledge may be spread, are in no danger of depopulation, nor need the manufacturers of high chairs or nursing bottles prepare to shut down their plants.[31]

Although it focused on birth control, this article was just as much about motherhood. And although it emphatically eschewed taking a position, the article strongly reflected the dominant ideologies of motherhood and family. For example, photographs of healthy, smiling babies (and lots of them) accompanied the article. And the editorial attention to the relationship between birth control and the consumer needs of mothers and infants (the high chairs and nursing bottles mentioned above) reflected the role of women's magazines as consumer magazines, or to put it more bluntly, advertising vehicles.

The *Woman's Home Companion* poll in 1948, like the *Journal* survey, found strong support for birth control.[32] Unlike the *Journal*, however, the *Companion* offered a more nuanced picture of women's opinions by quoting several of its "Reader-Reporters'" comments. Moreover, it ventured into important new territory, such as the effect of too much child-bearing on a woman's sexuality.

> A lot has been written about how too much child-bearing can harm a Woman's health. With all this Reader-Reporters heartily agree. But in their opinion, poor health — bitter burden that it is — is not the worst thing which can happen to a woman who has no knowledge of birth control. Even

> worse than being in poor health, so they say, is living in constant fear of pregnancy. Many women feel this fear is one of the important causes of marital maladjustment and divorce. States one Reader-Reporter: "The torment of wondering each month if you're pregnant can wreck a woman sexually."[33]

The *Woman's Home Companion* poll also noted that a few readers opposed having doctors control the distribution of birth control, which in effect often denied access to poor women. As one reader put it, "Often people who desperately need and want this information can't get it because they don't have funds to go to a doctor."[34]

The *Companion*'s attention to important but controversial concerns such as woman's sexuality and the exclusion of poor women set it apart from the *Ladies' Home Journal* survey. Like the *Journal,* however, the *Companion* emphasized the compatibility of birth control and motherhood.

> Are the Reader-Reporters who favor birth control childless? No. Close to nine-tenths of them are married. And seven-tenths of the married ones have children. In fact they have practically two children apiece — the exact figure is one-and-nine-tenths each, equivalent, we presume, to a girl and a boy with a crew cut. Says one: "Health and financial reasons alone make planned families necessary. For instance, if we had lots of money I'd have a dozen children, but since we don't, I'll have to get along with five!"[35]

The *Woman's Home Companion* published an editorial on birth control in 1938, notable for its positive position, its frankness, and its broad social context. As the title, "Ask Your Physician," indicated, this editorial advocated birth control under the care of a doctor, while it cautioned against spreading information through the press.

> We do not believe that *methods* of birth control should be discussed in public prints, which fall into the hands of children and young people who will be harmed, not helped, by a premature interest. We do believe that full information should be made available for every married man and woman . . . . Happily the time has now come when we can safely advise, almost everywhere, that you ask your physician. More than a year ago the antiquated federal laws were clarified by a court decision recognizing that birth control is legal under medical

direction, "for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well-being of patients."[36]

Postwar Maternal Ideology

The *Ladies' Home Journal* turned its attention to birth control in the late '40s with four articles that were clearly negative. Two editorials, one in 1946 and the other in 1949, gave the same basic argument: intelligent couples have a social responsibility to reproduce. The first editorial lamented the fact that many "well-to-do" and well-educated women practiced birth control, while a minority of the "very poor" did. It claimed that "our educated women, potentially mothers of children with greater native ability, are guilty of squandering their genetic inheritance."[37] To support this argument, the article pointed to the scaling down of I.Q. tests in public schools to meet the declining quality of the students. The editorial concluded by warning that, "We must learn to take our babies more seriously and less sentimentally. We must learn that our educational opportunities are not an outright gift, to be prodigally misspent. We must learn that we are not too educated to be parents; we must learn that we are too educated *not* to be!"[38]

The second editorial in this vein echoed the "motherhood as duty" argument and added a sharp criticism of feminism and open hostility toward birth control. First, it warned of the dangers of "race suicide," a trend toward the numerical decline of the "gifted" members of society (usually understood as white, wealthy, intelligent, etc.) that worried and motivated eugenists. Then the editorial targeted one possible reason for race suicide: "the so-called 'emancipation' of women." As a result of this phenomenon, women entered higher education and professional careers, postponed having children, and used birth control.

The price women paid for their "so-called emancipation" was high, according to the editorial, including:

1. the psychological price of "violating their own biological natures;"
2. lessening their chances of producing a healthy child ("The safest years for a woman to have her first child are between 20 and 24.");
3. their relationship with their child ("[Children] notice the absent look which appears so often in the eyes of women -concentrated on external cares."); and
4. their relations with their husbands, who were likely to interpret a lack of maternal ambitions as a lack of love.

Two articles published in 1947 explored other aspects of birth control. One was a personal narrative describing one young woman's decision to postpone having children, despite pressures from family and society. She gave the following reasons for her decision:

1. She and her husband had a rigid schedule;
2. They were city dwellers living in an apartment; and
3. Their combined incomes were insufficient "to care for a child adequately."[39]

Throughout the article the author insisted that she and her husband wanted children, but not for the first five years of marriage.

Finally, an advice column discussed birth control, but with a surprising lack of factual information. This article was written in the guise of a mother's advice to her daughter, and attempted to give facts, not just opinions. The facts given amounted to this: birth control is not simple or foolproof; no known method is completely infallible; and couples will take a chance every now and then. Throughout this article, birth control methods were alluded to but never actually named or described. For example, in discussing efficacy, the article noted that the most reliable method "requires an individual fitting on the part of a skilled physician, otherwise it's not dependable."[40] The word diaphragm was never used, however.

The first wave of birth control articles in women's magazines began in 1938 with a survey showing that a majority of women "believed in" birth control and an editorial strongly supporting birth control under a doctor's care. Despite this interest and support, however, women's magazines did not seem comfortable discussing birth control, as the issue only rarely made their pages in the 1940s and never in the 1950s.

In contrast to the public acceptance of birth control reported in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1938 and the *Woman's Home Companion* in 1948, discussions of birth control in the '40s were predominantly negative. While the 1938 *Companion* editorial favored birth control, *Journal* editorials in the '40s harshly criticized birth control as detrimental to society (the "race suicide" argument) and harmful to women themselves (a violation of their "biological natures"). This shift can be explained, at least in part, as a response to post-War ideologies of gender and family, with their focus on a return to traditional roles and reproduction.

Lost in the 1950s

In contrast to public interest in birth control in the '30s and '40s (indicated by new legislation and several public opinion polls by Gallup

and other organizations), the '50s brought a notable silence on the issue. For instance, no articles on birth control appeared in women's magazines during this decade and only one Gallup poll during the '50s included questions about birth control, in contrast to two polls in the '40s and five in the '60s.[41]

This silence might be attributed to a lack of dramatic birth control-related events in the '50s. After all, the '30s removed significant legal restrictions on birth control and the '60s brought the birth control pill, but nothing of similar magnitude happened in the '50s. It is worth noting, however, that birth control coverage actually *increased* during the '50s in news magazines, religious periodicals, and scientific journals. According to the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, there were more than 200 articles on birth control in the '50s, compared to fewer than 100 in the '40s.[42]

Moreover, during this period the discourse of birth control changed, with the introduction of such terms as "family planning" and "population control." These changes suggest that women's magazines were silent on birth control in the '50s because the dominant discourse reconstructed birth control as a public policy concern, a religious debate, and a scientific challenge. Thus, birth control left the private realm and entered the public realm. In the process, birth control discourse became a masculine discourse unsuitable for discussion in women's magazines. The frequent emphasis on population control in China, Japan and India, for instance, did not fit into the editorial content of women's magazines, which highlighted home and family. Public discourse and media coverage shifted, however, with the introduction of the pill in the '60s, when birth control once again became a private, personal, and feminine concern.

Promises and Perils of the Pill

After the long silence of the '50s, birth control made a strong comeback in women's magazines in the '60s. Thirty articles were found during the '60s in the *Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, McCall's* and *Redbook. McCall's* (with a circulation of 8.4 million in 1965) had surpassed the *Journal* as the top magazine in the women's service niche.[43] *Good Housekeeping* and *Redbook,* although out of the running for the top position, also had huge circulations.[44] Although they offered similar editorial content, each magazine had its own identity and audience (the typical *Redbook* reader of the '60s, for instance, could be married or unmarried, a mother or not, while the typical *Journal* reader was almost always a wife and mother).[45]

Most of the articles in the '60s focused on the birth control pill, although several discussed other methods, and a few explored issues such as the debate over prescribing birth control for unmarried women and the emotional impact of birth control. Before turning to the articles, it is important to note the significance of "the pill" in the history of birth control technology.

Before the introduction of the birth control pill in the American market in 1960, the diaphragm with spermicidal jelly had been the preferred contraceptive method at Planned Parenthood and other clinics for at least 40 years.[46] The pill revolutionized birth control because, unlike the diaphragm or the condom, it had no direct connection to the act of sexual intercourse. Historians John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman have noted both the impact of the pill on sexual practices and the interest it provoked among journalists and others:

> Effective, inexpensive, and easy to use, [the pill] separated intercourse from precautionary measures to prevent pregnancy. The spontaneity of sexual passion no longer had to be interrupted by inserting a diaphragm or putting on a condom. Ironically, technology was protecting the "naturalness" of sex by interfering with its equally "natural" result. The pill became the subject of sustained speculation as journalists, social scientists, and moralists watched for its impact on the sex life of Americans. Their interest was not misplaced. By the end of the decade, married couples had made it the contraceptive of preference, a trend that was especially pronounced among wives in their twenties.[47]

Good Housekeeping entered the birth control pill discussion in September 1962 with "Birth Control Pills: The Full Story" in its feature "The Better Way" (a magazine-within-a-magazine that readers could clip for future reference). Although *Good Housekeeping* was ahead of its sister publications in covering the pill (see **Table 3**), it was behind fashion-oriented women's magazines *Vogue* and *Mademoiselle*, which covered the pill in 1961.[48]

Good Housekeeping's straightforward report briefly described how the pill worked and addressed such issues as the pill's safety (both short- and long-term) and its side effects. This report touted the pill's effectiveness and safety, even while it acknowledged that some doctors had medical reservations about oral contraceptives.[49] In February 1963 *Redbook* published its own "comprehensive report" on oral contraceptives, in which it addressed fears raised by news reports during the summer of

1962 that 26 women had suffered blood clots while taking the pill, six of whom had died.[50] *Redbook*'s conclusion was equivocal, reflecting dissent within the medical community and the lack of evidence of long-term effects:

> [The present pill] seems to be 100 per cent effective when used properly. And after six years of testing and nearly three years of wide-spread use, there is no proof that the pill is harmful.
> But in using man-made hormones, medicine is moving in territory largely uncharted. It may well be that some complications, perhaps slight or perhaps serious, will crop up later on. Thus for the next few years, at least, the birth control pill should not be prescribed indiscriminately because "it's the easy way." The pill should be given to a woman when religious ethics permit, only when it seems likely that she will not or cannot use effectively any other contraceptive.[51]

A regular column in the June 1963 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* called "Tell Me, Doctor" purported to give a history of birth control and a summary of the methods available, a radical departure from the lack of specific information in articles published during the '40s. Most of this column, written by Dr. Gregory Pincus (identified as the "creator of the first effective oral contraceptive"), actually described and defended oral contraceptives.

After summarizing the barrier methods (that is, condoms, diaphragms, foams), sterilization, and the IUD (intrauterine device, a ring or coil of metal or plastic), Pincus explained the development of the pill, which he called "the most effective method of contraception yet devised."[52] He listed three advantages to the pill: (1) its effectiveness; (2) its psychological effects, because in dissociating the sex act from the contraceptive act, it reduces inhibitions; and (3) "it assures quite regular and controllable menstrual cycles."[53]

Good Housekeeping in September 1965 published "An up-to-date Report" in "The Better Way." This article attempted to answer questions about the pill's safety, relying on information from authorities at the federal Food and Drug Administration,[54] pharmaceutical companies that made the drugs, and physicians who prescribed them. In addition to explaining how oral contraceptives worked and describing the two types available on the market, the article discussed the most common side effects and diseases linked to the pill. Side effects (described as those usually seen in pregnancy) included nausea, weight gain, breast discom-

fort, swelling of hands and feet, and changes in skin or hair. Reports linking the pill to the following diseases (some resulted in death) were a major source of fear and concern: thrombophlebitis and pulmonary embolism; papilledema; liver function; stroke; and diabetes. The article concluded that no causal relationship could be shown between pill use and these diseases.

Pill-Related Fears

Despite these reassurances, fears about the pill persisted throughout the '60s, culminating in "special reports" in 1966 and 1967 with titles such as "Must We Now Ban the Birth Control Pills?" After noting that an estimated five million American women used oral contraceptives, these reports presented "new medical evidence" linking the pill to migraine headaches, "mental disturbance," and blood clots.[55] The *Journal* seemed to generalize beyond the medical evidence in a sensationalized special report, "The Terrible Trouble with the Birth-Control Pills," that began like a children's fairy tale.

> Once upon a time some scientists found a pill that would keep women from having babies when they didn't want them. They tried this pill on a few women, and nothing very bad seemed to happen to them. So the government said the pill was all right for everyone. Soon thousands, even hundreds of thousands, then millions of women were taking the pills . . . . Soon six million American women were taking the pills. Five million women in other countries were also taking them. But then the pessimistic voices began to grow louder. And finally they chorused: "We don't really know what we are doing. Let us stop before it is too late."[56]

This article promised to tell the "chilling truth" about "all those Puerto Rican women on whom the pills were tested" and the "underreporting" of serious, sometimes fatal, side effects. The six-page article included interviews with doctors on both sides of the debate, as well as case histories of women who had taken the pill.

The authors quoted Dr. Louis Lasagna, associate professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, who said, "When the pills were put on the market in 1960, all we knew about them was that most women can take them without dropping dead. And today, seven years later, we don't know much more."[57] The authors briefly described the tests that led the FDA to first release the pills. The pill was tested in Puerto Rico

beginning in 1956, using low-income women who were not even given physical examinations, although they were examined after taking the pills because the researchers "were solely interested in whether the pills would prevent pregnancy."[58] The article concluded by advising women to "take the pill at your own risk."[59]

In November 1967, the *Journal* published some of its readers' responses to "The Terrible Trouble" article, including the following personal account:

> I was sitting in the waiting room of the intensive-care unit . . . when I read your article on the dangers of the pill. It was a little late for me to read it since my wife had just been operated on for massive clotting in her leg. She had been taking the pill for five months when the attack occurred. She had been ill for two weeks with sharp pains traveling through her body, and we had been to our family doctor twice and he had not found the cause of her illness.[60]

The *Journal*'s "Terrible Trouble" article provoked an angry response from the medical directors at Planned Parenthood (leading proponents of the pill), who released a three-page statement in which they asserted, "A recent article in a leading women's magazine has compiled negative data out of context and has presented a one-sided view that is misleading and needlessly alarming."[61] Planned Parenthood officials explained the negative publicity about the pill as a tactic used by "competing publications as part of the 'rat race' for circulation and survival in a highly competitive market."[62]

Coverage of pill-related fears persisted throughout the '60s, but never quite reached the fever pitch of the *Journal*'s "Terrible Trouble." Just four months after the *Journal* story, *McCall's* published its own authoritative (and nonsensational) report on the pill.[63] In fact, *McCall's* seemed to take a swipe at the *Journal* in an introduction to its report. In the process, it also advised women to trust their doctors (reminiscent of the 1938 *Woman's Home Companion* editorial "Ask Your Physician"):

> More than any other kind of journalism, medical reporting today has weighty public responsibility. It is too easy to blow up cures and build false hopes, or to magnify dangers and scare people away from effective therapy. *McCall's* article "The Pill" culminates a year's intensive investigation of the benefits and dangers of oral contraceptives. Alix Kerr, *McCall's* Medical Editor, organized a survey of almost 9,000 Fellows of the

American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists. Among its conclusions: the fact that there is heartening evidence that the hazards are slight and, to a large extent, preventable by skilled supervision. After you've read this report, check it with your doctor. He'll probably agree that this is a sound and nonsensational view of the subject.[64]

Public opinion about the safety of oral contraceptives seemed to shift along with patterns of media coverage. For instance, from 1967 to 1970 the Gallup poll showed a definite drop in the belief that birth control pills could be used safely (from 43 percent to 22 percent), even though the belief that pills were effective increased slightly over the same period (from 61 percent to 67 percent).[65]

In November 1968, *McCall's* offered a skeptical view of the pill in "Why They Quit the Pill," which examined the dropout rate for pill users and gave information about pill alternatives such as the IUD and new contraceptives appearing on the horizon."[66] Other articles discussed alternatives to the pill (including a pill for men), optimistically predicting that "within 10 years, and perhaps much sooner, today's oral contraceptives will be obsolete."[67]

Emotional and Social Impact

In addition to publishing articles that focused on the trouble with the pill, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's* and *Redbook* covered other issues raised by the pill, notably its impact on husbands, its effect on women's emotions, and whether it should be available to unmarried women. Discussions of the pill and men revealed fascinating notions of gender and sexuality at the same time they gave practical coping advice to women. For instance, in an article called simply "The Pill," *Redbook* noted many questions raised by the pill, above and beyond safety and effectiveness:

> Women today can rely on this completely effective birth-control method which for the first time separates contraception from the act of love. How does this affect a marriage? What does it do to a man who feels threatened by his wife's new freedom? Or to a woman who has not faced her real feelings about sex? . . . . "The Pill," like so much else in current American life, requires women to make decisions and exercise choice where, in the past, necessity or tradition had made the decisions for them.[68]

An article in the January 1969 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* suggested that men and women may have very different, even opposite, responses to the pill: "Many wives felt sexually liberated by birth-control pills. But some husbands feel enslaved. It's as if their sense of maleness and self-esteem has been threatened."[69] The author, Dr. Kistner, explored unforeseen marital problems resulting from attitude changes in men whose wives were on the pill.[70] The main point of the article was that the increased sex drive in some women taking the pill proved problematic for some husbands, engendering "frustration, worry, fear and occasionally impotence."[71]

Dr. Kistner illustrated what he called the "husband factors" associated with the pill by quoting doctors and sex researchers and by relating several case histories. For example, he cited Dr. M. J. Meldman, a Chicago psychiatrist, who tried to explain why men feel threatened by sexually aggressive women:

> Dr. Meldman has speculated that the liberating effect of the Pill on the wife evokes all the latent emotional and sexual immaturity in the husband, once he is faced with real demands on this sexuality. Sexual aggressiveness by the female, while known in the animal kingdom, may produce a regressive attitude in the male *homo sapiens*. Wives have complained to me about their impotent husbands who developed this difficulty only after they started on the Pill. They complained that their husbands would become sexually aroused when they undressed before them, only to lose their desire if the wives assumed the dominant role in the sex act or became the least bit animalistic.[72]

Dr. Kistner avoided the gender and power implications of this phenomenon until the end of the article. At first, he placed it in the context of "American preoccupation with sexual performance," rather than relating it to disrupted gender roles and a shift in the power balance. Later, however, he cited Dr. Martin Loeb, director of the School of Social Work at the University of Wisconsin, who "believes that the Pill has removed the biological basis of the double standard."[73] Sexual equality for women meant that masculinity (at least the dominant notion of masculinity) was under attack.

A troubling aspect of this article is that it blamed the pill not only for male impotence, but also for male violence, supposedly a consequence of the man's feeling that he is "the docile partner rendering mere service to

his peer." Kistner used the following example of a case where threatened masculinity gave way to jealousy, paranoia and finally, violence:

> A case in point is that of an extremely masculine football coach whose wife began taking the Pill after the birth of their fourth child. She enjoyed her newfound sexual freedom almost to the point of nymphomania. A few months later she detected a change in her husband's behavior. He became suspicious, surly and even hostile, and his sexual interest waned. He suspected that, because of his wife's interest in sex, there was nothing to prevent her from seeking satisfaction outside the marriage. After accusing her of "making a fool of him," he finally reached an emotional climax and beat her.[74]

Dr. Kistner concluded by noting that the pill posed a problem for only a minority of men and that it "exposes only those problems that were latent in the marriage."[75] For severe problems, he recommended psychotherapy; for milder ones, simply a "frank and open discussion of individual attitudes."[76]

Dr. Joyce Brothers, in her "On Being a Woman" column in *Good Housekeeping*, also tackled the question of the pill's effects on husbands. She noted that studies had shown that from a quarter to a third of women taking the pill reported an increased desire for sex ("marital relations," as she put it). Like Dr. Kistner, she identified problems in the husband's response to his wife's increased libido, but Dr. Brothers was more specific in suggesting the appropriate womanly reaction:

> [N]ormally virile men are taken aback when their formerly tense wives begin to relax and enjoy sex, even to the extent of occasionally initiating a romantic interlude. Accustomed to the double standard and the role of the male as the aggressor, they see their wives' new sexual freedom as a threat to their own masculinity. In such cases it takes a tactful wife to provide the necessary reassurance.[77]

The Pill, Marriage, and Religion

The overwhelming majority of articles revealed a firm ideological commitment to marriage, as reflected in their consistent reference to husbands and wives in articles about birth control. Both *Good Housekeeping* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* addressed the question of whether

unmarried women should have access to contraceptives. This question gained a new sense of urgency with the arrival of the pill, and was even included in the 1965 Gallup poll.[78]

Good Housekeeping published the results of a survey in which the magazine asked 1,000 readers "Should the means of birth control be made available to unmarried women?" Forty-two percent of those surveyed said "no" and 27 percent said "yes."[79] The article explained that those readers opposed to making birth control available to unmarried women generally cited moral reasons, while those in favor cited practical reasons.

To illustrate these positions, the *Good Housekeeping* article quoted several women on both sides, including one who stated, "I am just old-fashioned enough to believe in chastity. I feel that if birth control were given to all and any, the moral structure of our nation would crumble even faster than it is now."[80] Another Reader's opinion paid tribute to the holy trinity of marriage, motherhood, and home so often glorified in magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*: "Unmarried people have no right to the beauty of sexual gratification until they are mature enough to accept and cope with the full responsibilities of marriage, children and a home."[81]

Readers in favor of making birth control available to single women invoked social responsibility arguments, as well as the notions of individual freedom and privacy. For example, a young nurse wrote, "I see the unhappiness of unwed mothers and my heart is torn when they go home from the hospital and leave their babies behind." Another reader argued that "Birth control for the unmarried would put the morality of the sexual act right where it belongs—the responsibility of the individual herself."[82]

Finally, a few articles examined the religious controversy over birth control, especially for Catholics. For instance, Catholic Dr. John Rock's "We Can End the Battle Over Birth Control" in *Good Housekeeping* called on the church to reassess its position on contraception.[83] Other articles offered a glimpse inside the historic deliberations of the Papal commission on birth control or personal testimonials from Catholic women faced with a difficult dilemma.[84]

Women's Magazines Lagged Behind

Women's magazines lagged behind newspapers and news magazines in terms of covering birth control. When the *Ladies' Home Journal* finally tackled the issue in 1938, it did so in a non-controversial manner, by summarizing the results of a public opinion survey. The *Woman's Home Companion* also covered contraception in 1938, with an editorial strongly

supporting birth control as long as it was practiced under doctor's orders. After their initial foray into contraceptive coverage, the *Journal* paid little attention to the issue in the '40s. In fact, the magazine devoted only two editorials, one advice column, and one article to birth control in the whole decade. Although the *Journal's* 1938 report put a positive spin on birth control, three of the four subsequent articles were decidedly negative. When the *Woman's Home Companion* covered contraception again in 1948, it gave the results of its own poll which showed continued support for birth control among married women.

Birth control disappeared from the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Woman's Home Companion* in the '50s, a phenomenon that can be attributed to what historian Elaine Tyler May called the "reproductive consensus" in postwar America.[85] Reinforcing this consensus was a shift in the public discourse on contraception away from personal choice toward public policy. The birth control pill made contraception newsworthy in the '60s. Coverage during this decade is noteworthy for its scientific and factual focus; sensational articles like "The Terrible Trouble" were the exception rather than the rule. Unlike earlier reports that emphasized opinion, features in the '60s included detailed information about methods, complete with charts and interviews with doctors and other experts. Disagreement surfaced, however, on the question of how much trust women should put in their doctors.

Throughout all this coverage, however, discourses of gender and sexuality were continually expressed. Poll reports in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Woman's Home Companion* assumed a neutral position; yet they took pains to emphasize the importance of children and motherhood in their readers' lives. Coverage in the '40s validated ideologies of motherhood and women's responsibility to their "biological natures" at the same time that it vilified the "so-called emancipation of women."

Shifting notions of motherhood in the '60s called into question the belief that women's maternal role should be all-consuming, an ideological change reflected in birth control coverage. Articles no longer had to insist on the compatibility of motherhood and birth control because it was generally taken for granted. They focused instead on the impact of the birth control pill. Coverage in the '60s responded to two pill-related fears: the fear of endangered femininity (that is, the effect of the pill on women's libidos and long-term fertility) and the fear of threatened masculinity. Both fears manifested a sense that the pill was breaking down the old double standard, and with it normative gender roles and dominant notions of appropriate sexuality.

Through their coverage of contraception (ambivalent and uneven as it was), women's magazines helped to solidify the emerging notion of

women's reproductive freedom. At the same time, the magazines' coverage of contraception helped to contain the disruptive power of this freedom, for example by emphasizing motherhood, traditional female sexuality, and the role of the (usually male) doctor in contraceptive decisionmaking.

Nonetheless, the women's liberation movement had already taken root. The activism of the '70s, including a sit-in at the editorial offices of the *Ladies' Home Journal* by 100 feminists on March 18, 1970, would further destabilize prevailing ideologies of gender and sexuality.[86] The extent to which this activism influenced the discourses produced in women's magazines in the '70s and beyond is an interesting question that will have to be left to another study.

Endnotes

[1]For a comprehensive study of the significant role of the press (including popular, professional, radical, and government publications) in covering the early birth control movement (1900-1920), see Cynthia Goldstein, "The Press and the Beginning of the Birth Control Movement in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1985). For media coverage of Margaret Sanger, see Ellen Chesler, *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

[2]Birth control devices and information were classified as obscene material under the Comstock Act of 1873, an amendment to the Federal Postal Code. Because of legal restrictions and public reticence, the press offered sporadic and uneven coverage of contraception well into the twentieth century. For an analysis of early birth control coverage in the mainstream press, see Dolores Flamiano, "The Birth of a Notion: Media Coverage of Contraception, 1915-1917," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75:3 (Autumn 1998): 560-71.

[3]In her fascinating social history of the pill, historian Elizabeth Siegel Watkins argues that "Journalists combined the two contemporaneous changes [demographic studies of the contraceptive revolution involving married women and the sexual revolution involving unmarried women] and developed the lasting image of the pill as symbol of the sexual revolution; scientists and the public accepted and promoted this interpretation of the pill." Elizabeth Siegel Watkins, *On the Pill: A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950-1970* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 2. For recent evidence of this lasting image of the pill, see David Halberstam, "Discovering Sex," *American Heritage,* May-June 1993, 39-53; "The Pill that Transformed America," *Newsweek,* Winter 1997 (Special Issue, 2000: The Power of Invention), 76.

[4]The reliance on articles indexed under "birth control" and "contraceptives" probably resulted in the omission of relevant material, because the topic was often discussed euphemistically and indirectly (for instance, in articles about pregnancy, childbearing, and family life). Despite this shortcoming, the articles analyzed here are significant precisely because they discussed birth control directly.

[5]The members of the "Seven Sisters" have changed over time. Today they are *Better Homes and Gardens* (1922), *Family Circle* (1932), *Good Housekeeping* (1885), *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883), *McCall's* (1876), *Redbook* (1903), and *Woman's Day* (1937). The *Woman's Home Companion* (1873) was once the oldest and biggest of the sisters. Kathleen L. Endres, "Woman's Home Companion," in *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines,* ed. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 445.

[6]Birth control articles in *Mademoiselle* and *Vogue* in the '60s focused exclusively on the pill. They included: Ellen Willis, "The Birth-Control Pill," *Mademoiselle,* January 1961, 54; Earl Ubell, "What

You Should Know About the Birth Control Pill," *Vogue*, 1 August 1961, 90; Jane Steinberg, "Next: A Sleep-In?," *Mademoiselle*, April 1966, 10; and Dick Hubert, "The Pill and the Girl Next Door," *Mademoiselle*, March 1967, 162.

[7]Maxine L. Margolis, *Mothers and Such: Views of American Women and Why They Changed* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 8.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Linda Steiner, "Will the Real Women's Magazine Please Stand Up . . . For Women," in *Woman and Media: Content, Careers, and Criticism*, ed. Cynthia M. Lont (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1995), 102.

[10]Kathleen L. Endres, "Ladies' Home Journal," in *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines*, ed. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 173.

[11]Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of Advertising* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1998), 82-83.

[12]Endres, 173.

[13]Sivulka, 83.

[14]Endres, 173.

[15]Margolis, 40.

[16]Ibid.

[17]This trend is also illustrated by the popularity of the "new happy housewife heroines" in women's magazines of the '50s. See Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*(New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1963).

[18]Douglas, 52.

[19]Naomi Wolf, cited in Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910* (Albany: State University of New York, 1994), 198.

[20]Damon-Moore, 198.

[21]For a discussion of birth control advertising, see Andrea Tone, "Contraceptive Consumers: Gender and the Political Economy of Birth Control in the 1930s," *Journal of Social History* 29 (Spring 1996): 485-506 and Amy Sarch, "Those Dirty Ads! Birth Control Advertising in the 1920s and 1930s," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 14 (March 1997): 31-48.

[22]By searching the table of contents in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* for the '30s, '40s, and '50s, I found several articles that contained indirect references to birth control. See Dr. Frank Howard Richardson, "Lowering the High Cost of Babies," *Good Housekeeping*, March 1930, 22; Jessie Marshall, M.D., "Children? If You Marry for Love, There's Only One Answer—Of Course!" *Good Housekeeping*, March 1938, 82; Pearl S. Buck, "They Who Are Not Yet Born," *Good Housekeeping*, December 1940, 28; Mona Gardner, "Chastity and Syphilis," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1945, 23; "How Long Should You Wait Between Babies?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1945, 6; and "Are College Women Getting Educated?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1949, 11.

[23]In addition to these factors, Friedan's analysis of women's magazines in the late '40s and the '50s suggests that the ideology of motherhood (as seen in the dominance of "the happy housewife heroine") was so pervasive that it shut out all competing discourses. See Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1963). For a scholarly argument that a "reproductive consensus" dominated in the postwar period, and was amplified by the media, see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). For a contrasting view of womanhood and media discourse in the '50s, see Joanne Meyerowitz, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

24John Fiske, *Television Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1987), 14.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Endres, 172, 449. In 1936, the *Companion* had the highest circulation in its niche (2.9 million). By 1948, the *Journal* took the lead with 4.6 million (the *Companion* retained a 4 million circulation until its demise in 1957), Endres, 447, 450.

[27]Public opinion polling was a new phenomenon in 1938 (the first Gallup Poll was in 1935). Gallup asked about birth control in 1936, 1940, and 1947. In 1936, 70 percent of respondents said

that the distribution of information on birth control should be made legal. George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*, Vol. 1 (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1935-71), 41. *Fortune* also published a series of surveys, including one in 1943 that focused on young women between the ages of 20 and 35. One of the questions in this survey was "Do you believe that knowledge about birth control should or should not be made available to all married women?" Eighty-five percent of the women surveyed answered that it should be. "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune,* August 1943, 24.

[28]Henry F. Pringle, "What Do the Women of America Think about Birth Control?" *Ladies Home Journal*, March 1938, 15.

[29]Ibid.

[30]"The Report in Brief," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1938, 14.

[31]Henry F. Pringle, "What Do the Women of America Think about Birth Control?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1938, 14.

[32]"What Do You Think of Birth Control? 67th Companion Poll," *Woman's Home Companion,* July 1948, 7.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 8.

[35]Ibid.

[36]"Ask Your Physician," *Woman's Home Companion,* September 1938, 2.

[37]"Are You Too Educated to be a Mother?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1946, 6.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Jeanne Lenton Tracey, "We Don't Want a Baby Now!" *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1947, 45.

[40]"Letters to Joan," *Ladies' Home Journal*, May 1947, 31.

[41]Two questions in the 1959 poll referred to birth control. They were: "Do you think birth control information should be available to anyone who wants it, or not?" (72 percent said "Yes") and "It has been suggested that the United Nations supply information on all birth control methods to the people of different nations of the world who want this information. Would you favor or oppose this being done?" (54 percent said "Yes"). George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*, Vol. 3 (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1935-71), 1655.

[42]The periodicals that published birth control articles during the '50s included *Newsweek, Time, Look, Reader's Digest, US News, Coronet, Consumer Reports, Catholic World, Christian Century, Commonweal, Science Digest,* and *Scientific American.*

[43]Mary Ellen Zuckerman, "McCall's," in Endres, 223. The *Journal's* circulation was 7 million in 1970, Endres, 177.

[44]*Good Housekeeping* hit its top circulation of 5.5 million in 1966, Agnes Cooper Gortlieb, "Good Housekeeping," in Endres, 124. *Redbook's* circulation was almost four million in 1963, Victoria Goff, "Redbook," in Endres, 303.

[45]Victoria Goff, "Redbook," in Endres, 304; and Kathleen L. Endres, "Ladies' Home Journal," in Endres, 176.

[46]Blanche Linden-Ward and Carol Hurd Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), 335.

[47]John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 250-1.

[48]Ellen Willis, "The Birth Control Pill," *Mademoiselle,* January 1961, 54; and Earl Ubell, "What You Should Know About the Birth Control Pill," *Vogue,* 1 August 1961, 90.

[49]"Birth Control Pills: The Full Story," *Good Housekeeping,* September 1962, 153.

[50]"How Safe Are the Birth Control Pills?," *Redbook,* February 1963, 45.

[51]Ibid., 148. For a follow-up report on the relationship between the pill and blood clots, which argued that there was no statistically significant relationship, see "A Safety Report on Oral Contraceptives," *Good Housekeeping,* January 1964, 123.

[52]Dr. Gregory Pincus, "Tell Me, Doctor," *Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1963, 50.

[53]Ibid.

[54]The FDA approved the first birth control pill in November 1959.

[55]"Must We Now Ban the Birth Control Pills?" *Good Housekeeping*, February 1966, 67-68.

[56]Lois R. Chevalier and Leonard Cohen, "The Terrible Trouble with the Birth-Control Pills," *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1967, 43.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., 44

[59]Ibid., 50.

[60]"Our Readers Talk Back About the . . . Birth Control Pills," *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1967, 92.

[61]Richard L. Day and George Langmyhr, "Statement" (30 June 1967), 1. Planned Parenthood Federation of America, quoted in Watkins, *On the Pill*, 100.

[62]Dorothy L. Millstone to James Irwin (9 May 1969), PPFA, quoted in Watkins, 100.

[63]Alice Lake, "The Pill," *McCall's*, November 1967, 96.

[64]"Table of Contents," *McCall's*, November 1967, 2.

[65]George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*, Vol. 3 (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1935-71), 2044-45, 2239.

[66]Leslie Aldridge, "Why They Quit the Pill," *McCall's*, November 1968, 110.

[67]Warren R. Young, "Beyond the Pill," *McCall's*, March 1967, 90. See also, "Now! Something Better Than . . . 'The Pill'?," *McCall's*, February 1965, 42; "Birth Control Method That May Replace the Pill: IUCD," *Good Housekeeping*, April 1966, 177; Phyllis Wright, "Coming Sooner Than Expected: Birth-Control Shots," *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1966, 18 ;"Search For a Birth Control Method to Replace the Pill," *Good Housekeeping*, September 1967, 179; and "Birth Control: Is Male Contraception the Answer?," April 1969, 201.

[68]Sam Blum, "The Pill," *Redbook*, January 1966, 33, 80.

[69]Robert W. Kistner, M.D., "What 'The Pill' Does to Husbands," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1969, 66.

[70]According to the magazines, both Kistner articles were excerpted from his forthcoming book, *The Pill: Facts and Fallacies About Today's Oral Contraceptives*, to be published in May 1969 by Delacorte Press.

[71]Robert W. Kistner, M.D., "What 'The Pill' Does to Husbands," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1969, 66.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid., 68.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Dr. Joyce Brothers, "Birth Control and Your Emotions," *Good Housekeeping*, July 1967, 54.

[78]The poll asked: "The health officer of a university recently gave prescriptions for birth control pills to two unmarried students. How do you feel about giving birth control pills to girls in college? Do you approve or disapprove?" Seventy percent of the men and 77 percent of the women surveyed disapproved. George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*, Vol. 3 (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1935-71), 1967.

[79]When qualified responses ("agree in part" and "disagree in part") are added to the full responses noted above ("agree fully" and "disagree fully"), the figures tell a different story: 45 percent in favor and 49 percent opposed. "Should Birth Control Be Available to Unmarried Women?" *Good Housekeeping*, February 1967, 12.

[80]Ibid., 14.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Dr. John Rock, "We Can End the Battle Over Birth Control!," *Good Housekeeping*, July 1961, 44.

[84]Lois R. Chevalier, "The Secret Drama Behind the Pope's Momentous Decision on Birth

Control," *Ladies' Home Journal,* March 1966, 88; and "This Baby Will Be My Last; Explained by a Catholic Mother," *Redbook,* July 1965, 6. See also Clare Booth Luce, "Birth Control and the Catholic Church," *McCall's,* February 1967, 48; and Aubrey Menen, "The Pope and the Pill," *McCall's,* November 1968, 111.

[85]Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

[86]For contemporary coverage of the sit-in, see "Woman Power," *Newsweek,* 30 March 1970, 61 and Jenny Larson, "LHJ vs. Women's Liberation," *Militant* 34 (10 April 1970), 9.

Sports Page Boosterism: Atlanta and Its Newspapers Accomplish the Unprecedented

By William B. Anderson

Phyllis Kaniss argued that frequently politicians try to land major projects that attract media and voter attention rather than enact efficient economic development policies. She added that the local media often work hand-in-hand with politicians to promote these projects. This article tests the applicability of Kaniss' hypothesis to sports journalism by examining the efforts of the city of Atlanta's political leaders and sports journalists to lure the Braves baseball franchise from Milwaukee.

When Atlanta's civic leaders decided in 1963 to pursue a major league baseball team, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. called in the local newspaper journalists, told them the details of the pursuit and asked for their silence until negotiations had been finalized. The journalists granted Allen's request, according to *Atlanta Journal* sports editor Furman Bisher, because, "The best way to shut any newspaperman's mouth is to call him in and give him all the details of what you're doing on a confidential basis."[1] Three years later, in part due to this newspaper support, the city's leaders enticed the Braves baseball franchise to move to Atlanta.

Community Boosterism

This episode exemplified urban civic leaders' efforts during the 1960s to use sports as part of a community boosterism effort, that is, the

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promotion of economic enterprise by organized public and private groups within urban communities.[2] While researchers have examined the political and economic implications of these activities, little has been done on the participation of the local media in these efforts.[3] An analysis of the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution* from 1963 to 1966 shows that the sports editors of these papers helped build support for the city leadership's plan to build a stadium to attract the Braves baseball franchise.

Newspaper coverage of this effort merits scholarly scrutiny for several reasons. First, the move was unprecedented. When the Braves left Milwaukee in 1966 it marked the first time in modern history that a city with a major league baseball team had been left without one. For instance, even though the Braves left Boston for Milwaukee in 1953, Boston still had another major league baseball franchise, the Red Sox. As Atlanta Mayor Allen said, "All franchise moves in baseball prior to this time had been from double team citie . . . no precedent [existed] in moving a team from an unsatisfactory financial situation."[4]

Second, sports news has been largely overlooked by academic researchers, even though the sports section accounts for more than 20 percent of editorial content in metropolitan daily newspapers – more than any other category of news — and despite its potential influence over urban policy.[5] Many researchers view sports as less serious than public affairs, yet one commentator noted that journalists and researchers should more closely examine how civic officials use the sports page due to the potential financial impact of the sports business.[6]

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. (center, holding the hat) gathers together with four previous Atlanta mayors in April 1997. *Photo courtesy of* Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

"Because obtaining a new team or stadium often arouses civic pride," noted one journalist, "sports reporters frequently advance an idolizing theme" rather than "presenting the pros and cons" of these efforts.[7] In the Atlanta example, the local sports journalists analyzed the city leaders' efforts to build a sports stadium and attract a major league baseball team on a symbolic rather than an economic basis, which helped further convince the city's denizens of the attractiveness of the proposal. Considering the financial burden on taxpayers for this publicly subsidized stadium, this issue warranted more intense scrutiny than it received.

Part of the rationale behind the lack of critical coverage by the Atlanta sports editors and writers was their relationship with civic leaders. Few studies have examined the influence of local media on urban policy and regional development.[8] More work on the interaction between politicians and reporters at the local level would help alleviate this deficiency.

Although not necessarily representative of local media throughout the country, the way the Atlanta newspapermen covered the city leaders' quest to obtain funding for a sports stadium to lure a major league baseball franchise does provide further insight into the nature of the newsmaking process at the local level. The columns that sports editors Jesse Outlar of the *Atlanta Constitution* and Furman Bisher of the *Atlanta Journal* wrote during the years 1963 to 1966 enthusiastically endorsed the city leadership's efforts.

In addition, both sports editors supervised the content of their respective sports sections, which reinforced promotion in the individual columns. As columnists, the sports editors could be expected to offer their opinions and not straight news reporting, yet the articles written by other sports journalists at the Atlanta newspapers also served to boost the administration's efforts. This was especially troubling due to the lack of stories on the stadium/baseball team issue in other sections of the newspapers, such as the business section and the front page. Articles and columns from both Milwaukee dailies, the *Sentinel* and the *Journal*, and select national sporting publications, *Sports Illustrated* and *The New York Times*, demonstrated that other sources and views besides those of Atlanta politicians and Braves officials were available to the Atlanta sports journalists.

Rather than using these opposing sources, Atlanta's sports editors and reporters offered the public a one-sided view of the need for a stadium and a major league baseball team. Before the city's leaders and newspapermen could entice the Braves to leave Milwaukee, however, a suitable climate in Major League Baseball had to exist for such a move.

Major League Baseball in the 1960s

Major League Baseball attendance peaked in 1962, essentially due to the addition of two teams in the National League (the American League had expanded by two teams in 1961). However, this attendance began to sag shortly thereafter, caused in part by the rising popularity of football.[9] With its action confined within distances easily covered by cameras, football worked well on television, whereas baseball's greater distance and dispersed action made it less compatible with the small screen.

People such as *New York Times* sports journalist Arthur Koppett also blamed baseball's declining popularity on its ownership. Koppett called baseball the "ex-national sport" and blamed baseball's weak leadership and greedy owners and players for its waning status. To generate attendance, these owners tried promotional techniques such as giving away novelty items such as pens and hats, more variety of ballpark foods, more comfortable seating, skyboxes and huge electronic scoreboards. As attendance continued to slump, baseball owners expanded into new geographic areas such as Houston, Los Angeles, and Oakland, and built new ballparks, to reenergize it. Worried when attendance still sagged, owners looked for other ways to stimulate attendance. Baseball looked south.[10]

Atlanta's Regional Dominance

Atlanta had symbolically achieved regional dominance when its population reached one million on October 10, 1959, prompting *Newsweek* to declare, "The Georgia capital is the nerve center of the New South."[11] In the early 1960s the city was the banking, financial and administrative hub not only of Georgia but also of the Southeast.[12] As the baseball owners explored untapped geographic regions to boost attendance, Atlanta's city leadership decided to launch a major effort to promote Atlanta as a metropolitan entity of national impact.[13]

Part of this effort included uniting the city's diverse and far-ranging publics (the Atlanta metropolitan area outside city limits more than doubled in population during the 1960s)[14] as well as creating national attention.[15] The city's leaders felt that baseball would provide such a unifying and attention-grabbing force. Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. reasoned that a major league sports franchise would help promote Atlanta as "one of the legends of the South and of the nation." Of the major sports, Allen wanted baseball first because "baseball is constantly in the newspapers."[16]

Obtaining the Braves and a stadium to house them may not have been the most important indexes of economic growth, but they were visible badges of urban maturity that Atlanta lacked and coveted.[17] When

the Braves arrived in Atlanta, the city moved, in Allen's words, "from being a somewhat sluggish regional distribution center to a position as one of the dozen or so truly 'national cities.'"[18]

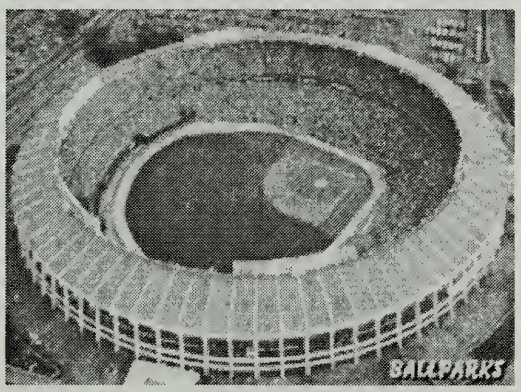
Attracting major league baseball symbolized the booster spirit that at times seemed to dominate Atlanta.[19] *Atlanta Journal* sports editor Furman Bisher wrote, "There really was no sentiment for a sports stadium until the idea of a stadium and a team got together as one."[20] The city's leaders had a history of boosterism and of working closely with the local newspapers ever since, if not before, Mayor William B. Hartsfield's cry of Atlanta being a "City Too Busy To Hate."

When Hartsfield urged the city's leaders and citizens not to oppose racial desegregation, Atlanta's daily newspapers, the *Journal* and the *Constitution*, cautioned against rash actions since racial turmoil might slow industrial growth. The *Journal* editor warned that actions like closing schools could cause Georgia to lose its leadership in industrial growth "to states like Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee where school closings have been firmly rejected."[21] In a similar fashion, Atlanta's sports editors and journalists boosted the city leaders' interests when they covered the Braves' move from Milwaukee.

The Miracle of Atlanta

One sports editor in particular helped start the process to acquire a major league baseball team. Before obtaining a baseball franchise, the city needed to construct the proper venue. Allen said, "Number one - [the team] had to have a place to play."[22] Furman Bisher helped initiate this action.

Bisher told personal acquaintance and Kansas City Athletics owner Charles Finley that Atlanta's mayor had campaigned for office on the promise he would build a stadium. Finley, unhappy with Kansas City government officials, agreed to meet with Mayor Allen. At the initial meeting, Finley told Allen, "You build a stadium here and I guarantee you Atlanta will get a major league franchise."[23] Despite his assurances that he had the support for such a move, at the 1963 All-Star Game Major League Baseball team owners voted against Finley's request to move.



An aerial view of the Atlanta Fulton-County Stadium. *Photo reprinted with permission from* Ballparks *by Munsey & Suppes.*

City leaders were stymied in their first attempt to garner a major league baseball team, yet, at the same All-Star Game, a delegation of Atlanta business and political leaders made a presentation to the Milwaukee Braves owners. This effort paid dividends. The Braves' management decided they would move to the city for the 1965 season if Atlanta's leaders could build a stadium within the next year. However, despite attempts to buy out the remaining year on its lease on Milwaukee County's stadium, the Milwaukee contingent refused to allow the Braves to leave and appealed to the National League owners. Although these owners decided to make the Braves play their 1965 schedule in Milwaukee, they voted to allow the team to move to Atlanta for the 1966 baseball season.

Extensive Media Coverage

Perhaps only downtown Atlanta businesses could feel the full financial impact of the Braves' move, but extensive media coverage could be understood if the team and the city itself were regarded as symbols of regional identity. Phyllis Kaniss proposed that local news coverage typically concentrates on "issues with symbolic capital necessary to unite the fragmented suburban audience . . . . The metropolitan news media have had to produce local identity as much as they produce news and entertainment."[24] Therefore, Kaniss continued, "The concern of any local news medium . . . must be to win the allegiance of the local audience that is the target of its advertisers" by covering issues that carry the "symbolic value capable of binding together the local audience."[25]

The Atlanta sports editors tried to position the stadium and the baseball team as symbolic of the city's ascension to major league city status. Many characteristics of the way they covered this story mirrored Kaniss' explanation of how politicians have used the local print dailies to promote certain issues. Kaniss defined this type of boosterism as an interrelated process with three components:

1. the economic imperative illustrated by "symbolic appeal of city issues/promotion of city leaders," "common use of single-source articles" and "overwhelmingly positive headlines";
2. professional values of the local journalist shown by "journalist's technical limitations and fear of numbers" and "fragmented beat structure"; and
3. the role of local officials as sources exemplified by "eager public officials and the lack of initial opposition."[26]

Local Officials as Sources

The story of journalism on a day-to-day basis is the story of the interaction between reporters and official sources.[27] As one 1960s reporter said, "The only important tool of the reporter is his news sources and how he uses them."[28] While some may claim the journalist holds the upper hand in this relationship, Kaniss maintained that it favors the source when the bureaucrat controls the information provided.[29]

In his memoirs, Allen talked about the importance of the local newspapers' support. In the political arena, Allen had seen how *Atlanta Constitution* editor Ralph McGill and reporter Eugene Patterson influenced the way citizens and politicians in Atlanta handled civil rights questions. Their work led Allen to understand the local media's impact and the significance of good relations with them.[30] Allen took this understanding into his relations with the sports editors. When he decided to pursue a sports stadium and team Allen immediately sat down with the local newspapermen to guarantee their silence and support. This move helped secure their backing for the duration of the attempt to entice the Braves to Atlanta.

For example, when political opponents challenged Allen's stadium construction idea in 1965 (when the Braves had to play one last season in Milwaukee), the Atlanta sports editors dismissed these opponents. Although one *Sports Illustrated* writer noted that the mayor's political opponents called the empty stadium "Allen's Coffin" and "Allen's Folly,"[31] the *Constitution*'s Jesse Outlar protected Allen from his critics: "Do a little mediating before you start criticizing Mayor Ivan Allen and members of the Stadium Authority." Outlar defended Allen from mayoral opponent and empty stadium critic Muggsy Smith by saying Smith was "running in the wrong direction when he attacks the deal with the Braves."[32]

Mayor Allen effectively managed the information he provided the Atlanta journalists to achieve his objectives. Part of his success in obtaining a stadium and then the Braves can be attributed to the lack of initial opposition to his proposal – although opposition did develop later – but compliant sportswriters who agreed with his proposition also contributed to this success.

An Economic Imperative

Several reasons may explain why a local journalist might agree with a politician's economic proposal. One of which, according to Kaniss, is the news firm's reliance on the growth of the local economy. Due to this factor, the local news media often serves as a civic booster, "actively

promoting the kinds of politics and projects that would generate economic growth of the area."[33]

To promote this objective, Kaniss argued that the local media often focuses on the symbolic rather than the financial implications of an issue.[34] The *Journal*'s Bisher and the *Constitution*'s Outlar frequently used the symbolic appeal of getting a baseball franchise to promote the city leaders and their efforts. The editors covered the meetings at the 1963 All-Star Game in Cleveland with glowing reports of the Atlanta delegation's efforts. Bisher wrote that due to "fast and dramatic action by a vigorous delegation," Atlanta's prospects for acquiring a baseball team were "rosier" than at first believed.[35] Outlar added that the Atlanta delegation went to Cleveland to "start the ball bouncing– it's bouncing."[36]

After this 1963 meeting, the editors began a pattern of praising the Atlanta delegation's efforts to attract a team. Bisher wrote, "Nobody can recall two chief executives of such stature [Allen and Georgia Governor Carl Sanders] from ever making such a concerted attack on the major leagues.[37] Outlar added that Allen and Sanders "made a convincing pitch" to American League president Joe Cronin.[38] Bisher said that due to the delegation's presentation, major league baseball owners "are going home haunted by the thought of what they're missing in the South."[39] Outlar summarized the delegation's success by noting that "more than one major league operator voiced an interest in Atlanta as a future address."[40]

The sports editors also extended the attraction of a baseball franchise beyond the city limits. Bisher said, "The whole Southeast belongs to the major league team that moves to Atlanta."[41] One *Atlanta Constitution* sportswriter reinforced the notion that the baseball team represented the region and not just the city when he quoted Georgia Senator Richard B. Russell at the Braves' opening ceremonies in Atlanta: "This opens a new day when we (the Southeast, Georgia, and Atlanta) come into our own."[42]

Symbolic Issues

Another example of the editors' use of symbolic issues to promote the Atlanta delegation occurred after the ceremony to dedicate the new stadium in 1964. Bisher wrote after the dedication ceremony, "The venturesome spirit of the county was represented by the silvery mane of [Fulton County Commissioner Harold] McCart, and the new image of the state by the youthfulness of Sanders, and the progressiveness of Atlanta leaders by the executive exuberance of [president of the Atlanta Stadium Authority Arthur] Montgomery, and . . . the resolute Allen."[43] Outlar combined praise for the city's delegation while reminding the rest

The Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium, dominated the southern end of downtown Atlanta. *Photo courtesy of* Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

of the Southeast of the acquisition's importance to them: "The long-cherished dream of every sports fan in the Southeast is becoming a reality."[44]

When National League owners voted to allow the Braves to play in Atlanta in 1966, local sportswriters used the symbolic imagery of the South's history. One *Atlanta Journal* sportswriter noted, "One hundred years to the day since Lee's surrender at Appomattox, the South fulfills its ancient, honored promise" to rise again. In the same article, the reporter added, "The South has long since made the long climb back to economic equality and now . . . the Southeast can lift its aristocratic head in pride and know that it has realized athletic equality."[45] Atlanta sportswriters and editors consistently focused on the symbolic, rather than the financial, impact of this issue.

In another instance, when the Braves played an exhibition game in Atlanta, Bisher wrote that Braves manager Bobby Bragan "started five Negro players without saying a word. No one booed."[46] Perhaps Bisher felt the need to address this issue because the Milwaukee newspapers and the national press had tried to use race as a reason the Braves would fail in Atlanta. A *Milwaukee Journal* reporter quoted star Braves player Hank Aaron as saying, "I certainly don't like the idea of playing in Atlanta and I have no intention of taking my family there."[47] A *Sports Illustrated* sportswriter also noted that "Alabama-born Henry Aaron said he might not care to return to the land of cotton."[48]

To further illustrate how race would be an issue in the South, a *Milwaukee Journal* reporter interviewed Mrs. Rube Harley, regional director of the NAACP in Atlanta, who scoffed at the familiar refrain that Atlanta was the city too busy to hate. She noted that "housing was still a

major problem, school desegregation was on, and the KKK and White Citizens Council were still active."[49]

Fortunately for Atlanta, race was not a "barrier" to the Braves' move, according to Mayor Allen.[50] After the Braves were in Atlanta a *Sports Illustrated* reporter quoted Aaron as saying, "Yes, I was disturbed last year by the move to Atlanta, but the racial situation was a minor factor. We were happy in Milwaukee."[51] Yet during the effort to lure the Braves to Atlanta, race was an issue. However, the Atlanta journalists were remarkably quiet on this issue, failing to quote the local NAACP leader–even though the *Milwaukee Journal* used this source, suggesting her availability. Bisher only mentioned the race issue in his column after the team was safely in Atlanta. Perhaps the Atlanta journalists failed to interview the local NAACP leader on this issue because they did not want to cover an issue with the wrong symbolic connotation, or because they had numerous other sources that were saying what the journalists wanted to promote.

Single-Source Articles Common

Another way that a local journalist might further a politician's "economic imperative," according to Kaniss, is to use one source, or a variety of sources saying the same thing.[52] The Atlanta sports writers and editors frequently used one source and mainly voiced a single perspective: that the Atlanta leadership deserved praise, and that the Midwestern politicians who were trying to keep the Braves in Milwaukee were unreasonable and contrary.

For instance, as the National League handed down its decision to prevent the Braves from moving for the 1965 season, Outlar blasted the Milwaukee political leaders who wanted to keep the team. "While wailing out of one side of their mouth that it's treasonable for the Braves to desert, some Milwaukee officials are saying out of the other side that they are already seeking an American League club." Outlar pointed out Milwaukee's hypocrisy. "They're as concerned about Kansas City, Cleveland, or some other city losing its franchise as they were about Boston losing the Braves."[53] One Atlanta sportswriter forgot the distinction between article and column when he wrote in his article, "Almost 100 years after the first burning of Atlanta, those damn [Y]ankees did it again."[54]

The Braves' opening night in Atlanta on April 12, 1966 provided another example of the local sports journalists' single perspective regarding Milwaukee. Bisher wrote that if Judge Elmer Roller (a Wisconsin federal judge who had tried to prevent the Braves from leaving Milwau-

kee) had his way, "Wisconsin would muster its National Guard and exercise an intercept mission . . . I suggest that the two guards make a date to meet at Gettysburg and fight it out."[55] Outlar wrote sarcastically, "Since Elmer Roller and Eugene Grobschmidt [a Milwaukee politician] couldn't appear due to previous commitments" someone else would have to throw out the first pitch.[56] One *Atlanta Journal* sportswriter started his article with, "Don't look now, Milwaukee, but your slip is showing–the one the Braves have given your best-laid court maneuvers."[57]

Journalists from Milwaukee obviously saw the issue differently. One *Milwaukee Journal* sportswriter summarized the attitudes of the Milwaukee sports journalists–and many of the city's politicians–when he branded the Braves' move to Atlanta as the "biggest mess baseball has seen since the Black Sox scandal."[58]

Of course, the sports columnists on each side of the issue might be expected to be opinionated, but even the articles appearing in the Atlanta sports pages used "single-perspective" sources in their stories to promote the city's side. One sports reporter in the *Atlanta Constitution* noted that the assemblage of National League owners detested the legal threats by Milwaukee's politicians against the league and the city of Atlanta. The reporter noted that Chicago Cubs Owner Philip K. Wrigley spoke for the owners when he said, "I can't see anybody very anxious to go into Milwaukee with a new ball club. The way things have gone up there, you would be sued, enjoined, and everything else at the top of a hat."[59] Another *Atlanta Constitution* sportswriter found a willing inside source to rip the city of Milwaukee. Braves manager Bobby Bragan told the reporter that Milwaukee was "not a good baseball town."[60]

While sports columnists are expected to be opinionated, reporters should provide more balance to their stories. The Atlanta sportswriters constantly found sources that strengthened the city leadership's arguments that the politicians from Milwaukee were being unfair in their attempts to keep Atlanta from obtaining the Braves, and, more important, that Atlanta deserved a major league baseball team. The headlines of the Atlanta newspaper articles also helped reinforce this last point.

Overwhelmingly Positive Headlines

Kaniss argued that "overwhelmingly positive headlines" help present the attractiveness of an issue.[61] As sports editors, Bisher and Outlar oversaw the output of the sports section, including the headlines that furthered the symbolic appeal of the attempt to obtain major league baseball.

The headlines echoed the articles and columns that praised the city leadership's efforts. When the Atlanta delegation visited the baseball owners at the 1963 All-Star Game, the headlines for Bisher's two columns read "The Foot Is in the Door" and "Atlanta Gains Prominence in Talks on Franchise Shifts" while Outlar's two columns began with "Georgians Impress AL Prexy Cronin" and "A Successful Mission."[62] All four headlines suggested the success and therefore the worth, either implicitly or explicitly, of the Atlanta delegation's mission.

Journalists' Professional Values

Headline writers exhibited words that stressed the symbolic appeal of the acquisition. For example, the stadium's dedication ceremony was "A Historic Day"[63] that captured the "Spirit of Atlanta."[64] The headline writers derisively called the National League's decision to allow the Braves to move to Atlanta in 1966 but force the team to stay in Milwaukee in 1965 "The N.L. Ultimatum."[65] The headline for Outlar's column on the Braves' first exhibition game in its now completed stadium read "THE Night."[66]

Not surprisingly, these headlines reflected the writings in the sports section that the acquisition of the Braves and a stadium were a positive move for the city. That the sports section promoted this point was not as surprising as was the lack of stories analyzing the economic aspects of the move in other sections of the Atlanta newspapers, such as the business section or the front page. Thus, the onus for scrutinizing the proposed stadium and Braves' move fell on the sports journalists; however, Kaniss argued that the professional values of the local journalist typically prevents critical analysis of economic proposals.

The "sexiness quotient," or need to come up with stories and angles on stories that stimulate audience interest, often leads to a built-in bias in the coverage of new development projects such as the Atlanta stadium, explained Kaniss. "Because of the professional desire to gain prominent play for a story, a reporter will more likely emphasize the need for a new project than focus on the reasons why the status quo is preferable."[67]

Journalist's 'Fear of Numbers'

One reason why journalists promote rather than analyze new projects, Kaniss argued, was because many journalists fear numbers. In general, according to Kaniss, journalists tend to have a fear of numbers that prevents them from delving into official estimates of costs and benefits of proposed projects.[68] "These are people who are hired for their

verbal skills . . . not their math skills," one editor noted. "They tend not to like numbers or not to have those skills."[69] As a result, journalists may reproduce without question the estimates of the costs and benefits of proposed initiatives supplied to them by officials supporting those same projects.

Although no reports were found in either Atlanta paper on the potential monetary impact of a team moving to the city, it would be difficult to prove this was caused by a fear of numbers. However, considering the size of the public funds dedicated to this venture, a review of the numbers involved seemed appropriate and necessary.

Nonetheless, rather than justify the stadium's construction through numbers, the writers examined its symbolic repercussions. As Outlar looked forward to the new stadium's opening in 1965, he wrote, "April 9 will be remembered as the greatest sports day in Atlanta history." Outlar added, "Long a major league city in other phases, Atlanta becomes a major league city in sports when the new palace doors open."[70]

Even in the one instance of the use of numbers in the sports section, Bisher levied the number for symbolic rather than analytic use. After the first exhibition game, Bisher wrote that the stadium "cost $18 million and it was worth every cent for the one night it has served." And, despite the long parking and concession lines, "you had to scrounge for mishaps and details of misery."[71]

Fragmented Beat Structure

The Atlanta sports journalists may have written stories with a symbolic, rather than financial, focus, not because they feared numbers, but because they typically dealt with sports-related issues. In a sense, sports journalists should not have been expected to competently analyze financial data. After all, sports journalists normally develop their stories from interviewing sources such as team executives, coaches, players, league administrators and officials, not financial planners.[72]

However, in this case, the Atlanta newspapers' business reporters failed to cover the business aspects of the issue–maybe because it was related to sports–and the sports journalists neglected to report on the business angle–possibly because it was a sports story. Conceivably, business reporters should have covered the financial aspects of the stadium construction; however, a review of columns and articles in the business section did not reveal any that debated the stadium's economic merits. Therefore, this became the sports editors' responsibility. Instead, the sports journalists engaged in cheerleading for the proposal without critically analyzing this issue.

In a similar vein, the civic leadership's desire for a sports stadium and team placed the Atlanta sports journalists in an unfamiliar position – covering city hall. Normally, the city hall reporter would cover local politics, but perhaps because this issue dealt with sports, the story appeared in the sports pages. Thus, a city hall editor or reporter that might bring a different, and possibly more critical, perspective to covering political issues did not report on this particular issue.

Analyzing the Booster Role

Cries of "But no one expects sports journalists to be critical" miss the point. Some politicians anticipate uncritical coverage of sports-related initiatives such as stadium construction in the sports section and therefore use these pages to boost their proposals.[73] One researcher argued that the "lack of a critical stance in the area of sports is part of what the media give up to their community to gain authority to challenge governmental leaders and other community institutions."[74] However, differences abound between "cheerleading" for the home team by calling a local baseball player's home run "majestic" and covering the business aspects of professional baseball. Local sportswriters should be aware of their potential booster role when covering sports as a business that financially impacts the community.

A *Wall Street Journal* writer noted that "Milwaukee's reluctance to give up the Braves is understandable, and so is Atlanta's eagerness to grab them."[75] Likewise, it is understandable that local sports journalists would be eager to support or defend their respective city's economic and symbolic interests. Kaniss suggested that an interrelated process with three components helped explain this newspaper boosterism. The way Atlanta sports journalists covered the Braves' move supported some tenets of her hypothesis, but other reasons may also explain why the journalists covered the story as they did.

Symbolic Repercussions

Similar to Kaniss' "economic imperative" contention, the Atlanta sports editors examined the acquisition of the Braves and the construction of a stadium to house the team more for their symbolic repercussions than for their economic costs and benefits. Focusing exclusively on sources that supported the acquisition of the stadium and team, combined with overwhelmingly positive headlines, helped build support for the city leaders' initiatives.

While some commentators might suggest it was not the responsibility of sports journalists to analyze the cost estimates and benefits of a stadium and a team, perhaps they should have, due to a beat structure that placed this burden on them. Kaniss contended that because writers on one beat (sports, for instance) are not equipped to cover a story from another beat (business, for example) that politicians would capitalize on this "fragmented beat structure" and position their stories with the beat writers least likely to critically analyze their proposals. Due to the lack of stories in the business and news sections of the Atlanta newspapers about the sports stadium, readers had to turn to the sports section for such coverage. In part because Mayor Allen channeled information to the sports section, the resulting coverage promoted his initiative.

On the other hand, little evidence existed for her claim that journalists often promote economic proposals because they fear numbers. Yet, although the Atlanta sports journalists may not have feared numbers, they did rely almost exclusively on public officials as sources for their columns and stories, ignoring other potential sources such as the local NAACP leader. Considering the nature of the issue, the journalists had to depend on public officials for certain details, but as Kaniss noted in her "role of officials" argument, because Mayor Allen controlled the information, he managed the makeup of the coverage. This was particularly unsettling because, according to Kaniss, "There are far fewer competing news sources at the local than at the national level."[76]

This coverage was also disconcerting because the sports journalists of the Atlanta newspapers actively promoted only one side of an issue that cost Atlanta taxpayers at least $18 million in the initial construction cost of a stadium, not including annual maintenance costs. Mayor Allen's political opponents pointed out that other civic projects lacked funding due to the stadium construction, including housing and education projects.[77] Atlanta citizens may have wanted the sports stadium and major league baseball team even without prompting from the newspapers, but they should have been presented with both sides of the issue. Considering the sources quoted in the Milwaukee dailies and *Sports Illustrated*, finding a view that opposed the city administration's contentions, and thereby providing balance to stories in the Atlanta sports pages, appeared to be available.

Other Possible Motives

While the Atlanta sports journalists' coverage exhibited many of the characteristics of Kaniss' hypothesis, other possible motives for their boosterism existed. When the Braves moved to Atlanta, a booster spirit

characterized the city's leadership.[78] A "news as mirror of society" proponent could argue that the sports journalists merely reflected the attitudes, and the words, of the city's leaders. In this view, sports journalists should have engaged in a style of reporting in which they recorded what witnesses or a spokesperson said and what written sources could provide for background rather than going beyond the official statements to craft their stories.[79] While commentators have debated the validity of the "news as mirror" view, this is how the Atlanta sports journalists covered the story – reflecting and amplifying the local politicians' proposals.[80]

Another compelling reason for their boosterism was the sports journalists' yearning to cover a sports team, a desire that is both intuitive and understandable. Combined with this desire, the sports journalists might have believed the city's leaders were helping Atlanta by enticing a sports team. Bisher wrote, "I doubt any other stadium has ever had the effect on a community's economy, thinking and pride than Atlanta Stadium has had on Atlanta."[81] These motivations, combined with Kaniss' hypothesis, help explain why the Atlanta sports journalists endorsed the city leaders' desire to build a stadium and lure a major league baseball team.

Kaniss provides an interesting heuristic for studying media participation in community boosterism. The challenge for media historians is to test this hypothesis by using it to examine the reasons behind journalistic examples of boosterism. Evaluating the local sports page can present a rich source of data on this subject, especially considering the business nature of the sports industry in general and the political and economic implications of sports stadium construction specifically. As this case study shows, investigating occurrences of sports page cheerleading for major urban proposals can lead to a deeper understanding of, and new insights into, the reasons behind such boosterism.

The author would like to thank Dr. Karen S. Miller and Dr. Lee Becker for their review and help during this process.

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Great Ideas

A Passion for Politics: A Conversation with Tom Brokaw

By Michael D. Murray

For nearly 20 years, Tom Brokaw has been regarded as a leader in the field of television news. A *TV Guide* poll ranked him "most trusted" anchor and *Broadcasting & Cable* News Directors also recently judged his *NBC Nightly News* as the best evening news program.

Brokaw is a graduate of the University of South Dakota and served as a reporter and anchor in Omaha, Nebraska; Atlanta, Georgia; and Los Angeles. He has reported on every major political convention since 1968. As White House correspondent from 1973 to 1976, he covered the Nixon Administration during Watergate and later handled the candidacy of Ronald Reagan in California for NBC News. He became co-anchor with Roger Mudd of the *NBC Nightly News* in 1982 and took over as sole anchor the next year, following in the footsteps of such people as Chet Huntley, David Brinkley and John Chancellor.

Brokaw has received every major broadcasting award, including five Emmys, a Peabody Award and two Alfred I DuPont-Columbia University Awards. He was the first American journalist to conduct a one-on-one interview with Mikhail Gorbachev and also the only network anchor to broadcast live from Germany when the Berlin Wall came down. He traveled to Beijing, China, while it was still under martial law in an effort to add perspective on the treatment of citizens and was the first American anchor to report on human rights abuses in Tibet. He subsequently interviewed the Dalai Lama. Brokaw also covered the war in Lebanon and the Gulf War as well as traveled to Albania to report first hand during NATO strikes in Yugoslavia.

His coverage for the *NBC Nightly News* has also included an exclusive report from the site of the Oklahoma City Bombing in April 1995 and the TWA Flight 800 tragedy.

Michael D. Murray is Professor of Communication at the University of Missouri, St. Louis. He is editor of the *Encyclopedia of Television News* (Phoenix: Oryx Press) and is writing a book on the history of NBC News.

His best-selling books, *The Greatest Generation* and *The Greatest Generation Speaks* explore the lives and contributions of Americans who participated in World War II. He and some of his colleagues on the *NBC Nightly News* were subjects for a Museum of Television and Radio Satellite Seminar from Manhattan, fed to over 250 American colleges and universities in February 2000. A week later he hosted a special MSNBC program focusing on the future of new technology titled, "Summit in Silicon Valley," from Palo Alto, California. The following conversation was taped in his office at NBC News, New York City, in the Spring of 2000. It focuses on his accomplishments, his books and key historic broadcasts.

Murray: People sometimes use the expression "defining moments" to describe important, symbolic or characteristic events in someone's professional life. As a broadcast news reporter, what would be some of the key events and stories you would regard as "defining moments" in your professional life so far?

Brokaw: An early one came when I was still co-anchoring with Roger Mudd. I went to cover the war in Lebanon. That was a big story. [Also,] the Challenger story. There have been many along the way, including in 1987 when I went to China and was able to spend a fair amount of time on human rights stories there, and then interviewing the Dalai Lama. Of course 1987 and also 1989 were big news years for all of us, when a number of major news stories took place.

Murray: In 1987, you interviewed Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin and Reagan in the White House. Did you anticipate what was about to happen on the international front at that time? Do you recall the context for those two?

Brokaw: Those things happened within a week of each other. I interviewed Gorbachev on the Saturday after Thanksgiving and flew back. It aired on Monday night. On Tuesday night of that same week I did a live program from The Kennedy Center, a two-hour debate of all of the presidential candidates, who were trying to succeed Reagan—both Republican and Democrat. At the end of the same week all the anchors interviewed President Reagan and we drew for who would ask the opening and closing questions. I happened to draw both the opening and the closing questions.

So I think that rapid succession of events, one right after another—since I performed well or didn't drop the ball or screw-up with any of those events—that served me well with the general audience. Before that I had a little bit of a problem, the attitude of "Well, is he up to the job?" NBC was struggling with that perception. In fact when Roger Mudd left, some people wrote that he should have gotten the job. I look younger than the other two but I think that particular week probably as much as

anything solidified my reputation as an anchor with an ability to move easily from one major event to another.

Murray: Before that you held jobs simultaneously as NBC's White House correspondent, filling in on the national *Nightly News* and also on the *Today* program. Those things certainly must have counted for something with the network brass? It sounds like it might have been a generation kind of thing?

Brokaw: Well, I know. It's funny and of course, whatever you do, you always have to earn your way.

Murray: You feel that broadcasting is a meritocracy and developed an early passion for politics, majoring in political science at the University of South Dakota and pursuing other interests along those lines. For all of the early important political stories during the developing era of television news, where were you situated? The Kennedy Assassination, for example, where were you when that happened? Were you covering the story? What did you think about the influence that particular event might have on the country?

Brokaw: I was in Omaha, Nebraska, at that time and I remember driving out to the Strategic Air Command Headquarters just to see if they had placed the base on alert. Nobody knew what was going on then. I remember vividly thinking — this does not happen in America, we do not kill our presidents.

And I also remember thinking that this was going to change us somehow. I didn't really know how, and it may seem sort of revisionist right now, but I understood that this was definitely going to change us in a big way. It was a watershed event in our lives and for me—it was also an end of innocence.

Murray: After Nebraska, in 1965 you went to Atlanta, Georgia. In terms of that era — it was prime time for Civil Rights in that particular location, right?

Brokaw: Yes, and that was really one of the best things that ever happened to me. I was only there 15 months and I became immersed in the Civil Right story — and also Southern culture. As a Northerner and as a Westerner, I came to understand how little I really knew about it. And I worked very hard at reading Southern literature and driving around and going to different places.

Obviously, the civil rights movement was a hugely dramatic story. I was often called in the middle of the night, if NBC could not get somebody someplace, they would call me and say "Could you get there until we can get a correspondent to the location?" And that is how I ended up getting noticed. So I was really pretty lucky to be on a couple of those stories.

Murray: Then you were sent to L.A. in 1966. That turned out to be a tough time but I guess also a timely assignment? Did you welcome the move?

Brokaw: I didn't want to go to California. They tried to get me to go there in 1965. Right away, I said no because I really wanted to be in Washington, D.C. I liked Atlanta and enjoyed what I was doing there. But networks being networks, they threw more money and responsibility at me.

So when I got out to California in 1966, Pat Brown was running against the Republican field for governor and they said, "There is a guy who is probably not going to get the nomination — you go cover Ronald Reagan." I got on the bus with Ronald Reagan almost the minute I got there. I rode around with him and got to know Spencer and Roberts [political consultants Stuart Spencer and William Roberts] and all of the people of the campaign really well, and then just worked seven days a week, long, long hours, covering politics.

Murray: One of the other watershed television news events was the 1968 Democratic Convention. What kind of assignment did you get for that event and what was that period like?

Brokaw: I was assigned to the California delegation that had been Bobby Kennedy's delegates. There were some of Eugene McCarthy's delegates, too, but it was mostly Kennedy's people — Rosie Greer and also Shirley MacLaine. Jesse Unruh was the leader of the group. I rode on the plane with them to Chicago. It was a morose and angry group because Bobby had been killed and their hopes were gone.

They were trying to put something together and they kept trying to get George McGovern in the race and hoping that Teddy Kennedy would run. I also spent a lot of time covering what was going on in the streets. But it was mostly a time of grief — and a very dramatic time.

Murray: You have been in a leadership position with this organization for a long time. Are there any unsung heroes here at NBC News, people who have done some really great work but, for whatever reasons, go unrecognized?

Brokaw: There are so many of them. Almost every day something comes up to reinforce that. I just talked to a woman today, she's one of my favorite producers and she just had a baby. Toward the end of her pregnancy I had to say to her, "I don't want you to get on that airplane today to go to California. I'll find someone else to do that job for me. You stay home and worry about the baby."

She's thrilled because she is in her late thirties. And this is a huge development in her life. So I had to say to her today, "I want you to only think about being a mother for the foreseeable future because your child will always be here." But she is typical of the dedication of the people here.

Murray: What about on the technical and support side of the company?

Brokaw: We had a cameraman who worked for us and lived in South Africa for many years by the name of Tony Wasserman. Somebody reminded me of his help when we were flying into Somalia in a Russian turboprop along with a correspondent from Tel Aviv and another cameraman. It was rough.

Tom Brokaw broadcasts live from the fall of the Berlin Wall, NBC-TV, November 9, 1989. *Photo courtesy NBC News.*

We looked around for help and relied very heavily on Tony Wasserman. I recall at the time I said, "This is NBC's 'Dirty Dozen.' When times really get tough we're the ones who have to go in and do the job." So there are lots of them here and I like to think that we have a very good relationship because they are very important to me.

Murray: Loyalty and friendship are themes of *The Greatest Generation*, and also your follow-up book. People refuse to part with these books and they buy multiple copies to give to family members. It's unusual because there are no copies to be found in used bookstores. These are commercially successful but they have also helped to reconnect a generation and educate part of the population. Did you know the first book would be such a success?

Brokaw: I thought it would be successful because I remember the week before it went out to the bookstores I spoke to the president of Random House and she said, "Well, Walter Cronkite's book sold about 700,000 copies and we think you will sell that many because television anchor people sell books. And we think this is a good book."

Murray: Your first book sold 3.5 million copies and the second one nearly 1.5 million? That makes them a publishing phenomenon. This must have had an effect on you — on different levels? When you interviewed Steven Spielberg about *Saving Private Ryan*, you asked him how making that movie changed his life. How would you say these books have changed your life?

Brokaw: It's given me an extended family — and in a real sense. My wife and I were just in Palm Springs last weekend for the big benefit for the World War II Flight Museum out there and then on Monday night of this week, I was at the Pentagon Pops Concert introducing the Medal of Honor winners for all of the wars. They feel that I am part of them and I feel that they are part of me.

I can't go anywhere without having people come up and talk to me about the book in the most personal, possible way. Of all of the things that I have done professionally nothing has been more gratifying to me than the success of these books because it is going to be lasting, touches so many lives, and people have responded to them in just the right way.

Murray: In reviewing broadcasts, I came across an interview you did with author Harold Evans at the Newseum. In that interview you were focusing with him on Watergate at a time when another president was under fire and under the cloud of impeachment. You covered Watergate firsthand and also reported on Clinton Administration problems on the *Nightly News*? How did you develop sources to cover Watergate — and how do these stories compare?

Brokaw: Well, in terms of basic reporting they were not dissimilar in the sense that the whole world was watching. When I arrived in Washington to cover Watergate it was at the end of the summer of hearings, and Dan Rather had a kind of a big head start with CBS. He was a well-known correspondent.

I had known a lot of the Nixon crowd because of my California days and I had been covering politics for a long time and that was also helpful. But what was really helpful was that almost every day there were stories that were exploding out of that White House. So what you had to do as a correspondent was be able to recognize which parts of the stories tied together well and which were relevant.

Then it's just a matter of keeping track of the long curve. And I developed in short order some very good sources within the White House and also on capitol hill, and other places. After that, of course, it was just doing what reporters do.

Murray: Before Watergate and Nixon's downfall, there were a series of speeches and charges about reporter performance and media bias made by his Vice President Spiro Agnew. Later, he came under attack himself and accepted blame for improprieties. That must have seemed odd at the time?

Brokaw: I remember being in the auditorium when he had his news conference and everybody thought he handled it very well, you know. Then, a week later, the scene had changed. Al Haig asked me during those days: "How are you doing?" I remember telling him that "It's like learning to ski in an avalanche. You know, you just keep going."

Murray: Your recent exclusive took place in Germany. How did you get your tip on the impending fall of the Berlin Wall? You must have known that was going to happen — since you had a crew committed to it beforehand and went over there yourself — and were the only anchor live at the scene?

Brokaw: We didn't think it was going to fall but we thought that there was enough of a big story going on that it was worth anchoring from there. So I went over on Monday night and got there on Tuesday. We started doing some stories on all of the confusion and chaos on the other side of the Wall at that time.

The person who worked for us in the Frankfurt bureau arranged for an interview with the East German propaganda chief who was the one who ended up reading the directive at this news conference. So after that I went right upstairs and got it confirmed. Then we went right out to the Wall and were there when everything developed.

Murray: How hard was it for you to get everything set up to report on what was happening? I guess since you hold a management position as well as anchoring the *Nightly News* it would be easier for you to get a complicated story like that organized quickly and on the air? Can you just say hey, this is really important, let's go?

I know you just returned from primary coverage in South Carolina and are right now preparing to leave for the West to do a program for MSNBC, "A Summit in Silicon Valley." Do you make those basic decisions about your news coverage and then just go after the stories?

Brokaw: Well, I can decide what we do. But all of the parts have to fit and, as you know, it is a very collegial kind of thing that we're doing. I have been having discussions with the president of the news division and we're still trying to get some important sources going for that high tech summit in California. Right now, we are trying to work on some additional sources to complete the program. So we're all working on this together — and that is often how it works.

In the case of Berlin Wall story, it was the foreign editor who first said, "Things are kind of beginning to percolate over there." Then I have to think about it in terms of, if I do go, will we have enough time to get it on the air? At that stage we also get one of our executives, Don Brown, in the conversation. We got all of the parts together and then I said, "OK, I will go." But it works more often that I say no in those instances when I won't be able to go somewhere, rather than the other way around.

Murray: When you went to China and inside Beijing — with them under military rule and with martial law in force — wasn't that a little bit risky?

Brokaw: When that story broke, we were first going to send Garrick Utley. In fact he was on his way to the airport. I said, "You know this is the biggest story in the world right now and the biggest story to come out of China in 30 years. I have been there a lot — I should just go there and see what the hell we can do." My operating theory is that it's almost never

a mistake to go — but it's often a mistake when you don't go. That was a case in which I literally walked into a meeting in the executive suites and said, "Look, I think I better go to China." So I jumped right on a plane. I missed only one *Nightly News Report*, but we got on the air from China and it did turn out to be a very important story.

Murray: In the thousands of programs you have done are there any others you regard as most important in the area of historical significance or special importance? I suppose the Berlin Wall again, would be the main one?

Brokaw: Yes, certainly in terms of having the story all to myself. There are other stories of importance: Nelson Mandela's release, of course, and the Gulf War. But we were all there. We were all covering those stories. But with the Berlin Wall, I looked around and I was the only one there, and it was a worldwide exclusive. You don't get very many of those.

Murray: Over the years, have there been any special, unusual or unexpected responses to your *NBC Nightly News* stories or special reports?

Brokaw: The American people responded to the Challenger story in a very special way. Someone once described television as the electronic hearth — as a fireplace that a family would gather around. When there is a crisis in the American family our roles become — although I am not conscious of this at the time — almost ministerial in a sense that we are healers. We are looked to for information, but also for empathy and reassurance.

Murray: You are regarded as the most believable of the anchors. This came up in a Museum of TV and Radio satellite feed last week. Your response was something like, "Well, I've been up and I've been down," acknowledging the vagaries of polls. But since anchors often have the inside story on events, why aren't we getting more insight in the form of commentary? You have done some, and said — I think, "Enough already," on certain stories, right?

Brokaw: I did commentary during the Monica Lewinsky thing on four or five occasions. I did it deliberately to try to get everybody to stop and take a breath. Let's try to get some perspective — that kind of thing. That was because I thought that it was important to have the additional context for what we were going through at that particular time.

And I also did it because I thought I had been at this long enough that they know who I am, and hope they know my reputation for fairness. So I am going to say something that is going to seem to some to sound a little more personal than the things we normally say, but sometimes I think we have to say it. So that's what I do.

Murray: In retrospect it must seem ironic to you in terms of national political coverage — going from Watergate to that Clinton episode in a relatively short span of time? On the plus side, do you have any particular

memories from your own years covering the White House for NBC News, or maybe from some national press conferences or presidential interviews?

Brokaw: At the conclusion of his presidency, on the day that Ronald Reagan left the White House, I got the last interview with him. When it was all over we walked out through the Rose Garden and he wanted to have our pictures taken. After that he turned to me and, in recalling our California years, said: "I remember when we first met Tom, and it worked out pretty well for both of us." I said, "It certainly did, Mr. President."

Book Reviews

The old and the new come together this month as we take a second look at some of the more important journalistic and media events of our lives. First, the editor's choice takes a look back at the 1950s and the role of the Christian Science Monitor *in its reporting of the excesses of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. New York academic Paul Levinson invites readers to re-think some of their misconceptions of Marshall McLuhan, asserting that McLuhan is just as relevant in this day and age of the Internet as he was during his heyday in the '60s and '70s.*

Historical reviews include a look at how The New York Times *reported clashes between aboriginal Americans and settlers in the west. Barbie Zelizer's horrific look at photography of the Holocaust is the subject of an intelligent review by Cornell's Ronald Ostman. Rik Whitaker of Buffalo State College looks at a contribution by long-time AJHA member Hiley Ward.*

Bernell Tripp reviews a book dealing with interracial reaction to films taken during the Rodney King affair and after in Los Angeles. Joseph McKern deals with the unlikely but intriguing subject of Machiavelli on journalism and our rare but regular look at the movies features a contribution by Tom Poe.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓Editor's Choice

Covering McCarthyism: How the Christian Science Monitor Handled Joseph R. McCarthy 1950-1954

by Lawrence N. Strout, Greenwood Publishing Group: Westport, CI., 1999. 171 pp.

While the term McCarthyism is still regularly applied to those who would restrict freedom of speech, thought and assembly, the memories of the junior Senator from Wisconsin are now becoming a mere shadow on the landscape of the American polity, of course, excepting those who lived through the turmoil of the postwar period. The newer generations are having a difficult time remembering the Vietnam War, let alone the self-appointed inquisitor from America's Midwest. What remains of McCarthy can be found in a few textbooks, more often than not at the back of a library shelf where the date tags indicate the volume has not

been opened for a good many years. In essence this is why Lawrence N. Strout's contribution to our understanding of this age of fear in American history is an important milestone.

When I think of McCarthy and the media, the name Edward R. Murrow as opposed to the journalists at the *Christian Science Monitor* comes to mind first and foremost. Strout's study of the editorial position of this commendable Boston-based newspaper serves to remind us that although many major dailies in the 1950s such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *San Francisco Examiner* heartily supported McCarthy's witchhunt, Murrow was far from alone in his stand against the senator. The man who shared the author's surname, Richard L. Strout and Erwin Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* were two Massachusetts journalists who did not waver in their condemnation of McCarthy's tactics. The chore wasn't easy. Battling McCarthy was one matter, living with the mission by the Church of Christ The Scientist was another. The board of directors enforced Mary Baker Eddy's declaration that her newspaper would never stoop to publicly demeaning anyone no matter what their alleged crimes. Although hindering, the edict did force *Monitor* personnel to dig just a bit deeper and think just a bit harder before publishing what all in the field came to consider to be fact in the pages of the journal.

This is not a long book and in some ways that is a tragedy. Strout has fallen victim to what every new author knows, that books are getting shorter and shorter. The work is a mere 171 pages of which only 140 contain text and endnotes, hardly enough to explore the density of *Monitor*-based material which makes up much of the book. We are left with a sense of being led blindfolded into a candy shop, being invited to sample all of the goodies, yet left with the mask covering our eyes to the point that we never get a feeling of what is really on the shelves. One does not get a sense of the impending gloom that would eventually envelope the country for much of the decade during the 1950s.

Having passed on my criticism, let's take a look at the positive points. Strout is careful to point out what the *Christian Science Monitor* did that made its coverage unique and why it became trusted by others covering the same beat. There is little doubt after reading Strout's account that the journal covered the story with a strong sense of unwavering morality. When others shifted with the sands, as did Murrow when he applied loyalty oaths to journalists at CBS, the *Monitor* clearly understood the kind of demagogue it was facing and there were no illusions as to the kind of treatment those opposing McCarthy would receive. Yet in the face of the risk of standing alone, the journal pursued its target, and now, nearly half a century later, it can stand tall and not have to apologize for its convictions. If this is the author's intent in writing this book, he has succeeded admirably.

This is a book that is easy to read. No, it is not simple, just beautifully constructed. Strout moves his reader slowly, meticulously and carefully through the four years between 1950 and 1954 without missing a critical detail. If anything, it lacks the emotion of the McCarthy period. The story begins with McCarthy's now-infamous Lincoln Day speech in 1950 and ends with his death in 1957 although the bulk of the material concludes with his censure in 1954. The book is divided into six chapters following a short introduction where we meet the main characters.

Strout argues that McCarthyism begins in 1950 and dedicates 34 pages in the first chapter telling us both why and how. Chapter Two is devoted to McCarthy's attacks on his enemies in 1951. It is appropriately entitled "McCarthy's Character Assassinations." Chapter Three moves into 1952 with McCarthy at the peak of his power. In my mind, the most significant part of the chapter deals with the *Monitor's* reaction to McCarthy's persecution of Professor Owen Lattimore. Chapter Four discusses McCarthy's battles with both the press and the Eisenhower administration, which of course led to his eventual loss of support. As one may guess, the closing two chapters deal with the events of 1954 and their impact on the American body politic.

Although many longer and detailed articles could have been included which would have given this volume a richness it so deserves, let us not diminish the good work which has been done here. Any person interested in the process of democratic politics, of liberty, of the right of free speech and the right of assembly, must never put the memory of someone like McCarthy to rest. And for those young generations whose collective memories extend back only as far as the breakup of their favorite music groups, this is a book that should appear on each and every high school and university desk. It will do no less than to introduce them to one of the most frightening periods in the world's most powerful and influential nation state.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

Digital McLuhan: A Guide to the Information Millennium:

by Paul Levinson,: Routledge: New York and London, 1999. 226 pp.

"Medium cool," "The medium is the message," and "the global village" were three touchstone phrases of the 1960s and '70s. Like the public regard for their Canadian creator, the late communications theorist Marshall McLuhan, those three phrases have been largely shelved in the closet of North American antiquities or (in the case of "the global village")

made horribly clichéd. McLuhan's main manifesto, *Understanding Media* (1964), was remaindered out of bookstores long ago. Now, however, author and professor Paul Levinson of New York has excavated and polished off some of McLuhan's best insights to help explain the explosive growth and the potentially explosive effects of the Internet.

Levinson's *Digital McLuhan: A Guide to the Information Millennium* is a major re-examination of McLuhan theories about communications media, and McLuhan's views on just about everything. In this highly readable book, there's no escaping the warnings of McLuhan about his own theoretical stance: I don't explain — I explore," he declared. But if you can accept that premise and read on, Levinson's application of McLuhan's theories to the Internet (which now connects roughly half the American population) makes very good sense.

At the least, Levinson offers up the most complete and valid interpretation of McLuhan's oft-misunderstood views. And he does a better job (with more clarity) than the effervescent media theorist himself. Levinson was a McLuhan family friend, ate at the McLuhan table, and the friends' walks together added depth to the author's understanding of what his famous friend was doing. For example, "The medium is the message" was not a call to disregard content in the study of communications; rather, it was an aphorism intended to get people to consider the whole set of widespread changes which each new communications technology visits upon its users. Since some changes are immediate, self-revealing, and easy to detect, people are tempted wholesale to overlook more subtle, long-lasting effects which reveal themselves only over time. Understanding the lesson of "The medium is the message" comes only from prolonged consideration of users "at play" with their particular media.

Another well-known, altogether misunderstood McLuhan approach is the description of media as either "hot or cool." Levinson explains, however, "The crux of hot or cool is that media which are loud, bright, clear, fixed ('hot' or high definition) evoke less involvement from perceivers than media whose presentations are soft, shadowy, blurred, and changeable ('cool' or low definition.) The psychological logic of this distinction is that we are obliged and seduced to work harder — to get more involved — to fill in the gaps with the lower profile, less complete media." Thus, while millions of college students and other McLuhan readers puzzled over comparisons of unlike media, trying to peg them as "hot" or "cool," Levinson explains that those terms work better in comparing the evolving forms of similar media that do the same jobs — "motion pictures and TV, prose and poetry, cartoon drawing and photograph . . . ." One characteristic of the Internet, by the way, is its extreme "cool" (interactive) attraction to users — resulting in an entirely new social disease, Internet compulsion.

Perhaps the best remembered and most-appropriated McLuhanism is "the global village." Most people forgot where they read it, but McLuhan claimed in *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) that "The new electronic interdependence recreates the world in the image of a global village." Knowing that, of course, is enough to impress the other guests at the next cocktail party you attend. According to Levinson, "[T]he Internet made an honest metaphor out of the global village . . . ." That is, if everyone is on the same party line, they know the same things, feel the same emotions, begin to twitch in similar ways as if they were all tied into a universal central nervous system.

Levinson argues that it was not only those memorable McLuhan "sound bites" that deserve re-examination: The theorist's "four questions to ask about media" are also useful in taking the measure of the Internet and other modern digital gadgets. The first question asks, "What aspect of society or human life does [a new media] enhance or amplify?" Previously, people who read McLuhan learned that each of the new tools of electronic communication—starting with Samuel F.B. Morse's telegraph of 1844 (and including other tools as well) was an extension of one part of the human anatomy. (The telegraph extended the ear.) But McLuhan would have seen in the Internet an extension of several human senses — maybe all of them at once. The second of the four-question set asks what aspect of our lives, previously taken for granted, is eclipsed or made obsolete by the new communications tool. It follows, therefore, that if the Internet will soon combine the best of telephone, television, radio, phonographs and printed text, they'll go the way of the buggy whip. Sort of.

The third and fourth questions go to the heart of what the Internet may eventually become. Question Three asks, "What does the [new] medium retrieve or pull back into center stage from the shadows of obsolescence?" One major answer to that question applied to the Internet is that the town meeting, thought by most to have disappeared under urban sprawl and overpopulation, has been resurrected in electronic chat rooms across the nation. Another interpretation might draw an analogy between the often-fictional identities assumed by many "talkative" Internet users, and one, long "masked ball" with open invitations to anyone and everyone who can use a Web browser. Police detectives everywhere are busily trying to unmask some of the more obnoxious (that is, dangerous) players.

The last of the four questions asks, simply, what might the current developing communications medium turn into, eventually, "when it has run its course?" Answering that question, suggests Levinson, will be the ultimate test of the McLuhan theories. In the meantime, users (and thus owners) of the Internet wait for its direction to become clear. Will

commercialization make the Net the ultimate public Yellow Pages and mail order catalogue? Will various special interests create the "balkanization" of the system at the expense of private citizens? Or is the Internet the ultimate "marketplace of ideas" in which collective judgment decides worth, and dumb ideas raise only laughter and derision?

McLuhan died on the last day of 1980. Since then, his long-time friend, Paul Levinson has worked to interpret McLuhan's theories to academics and general readers. In this new book, Levinson makes his best argument against relegating McLuhan to the "also-rans" of media theorists. If Levinson prevails, then millions of new or soon-to-be Internet users will have useful insights into what they are really doing online — and why.

>Kenneth Sexton, Morehead State University

Edison Motion Pictures, 1890-1900: An Annotated Filmography

By Charles Musser, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998. 719 pp.

Teachers have long been fond of admonishing their young charges that if a task is worth doing, it is worth doing well. That well-worn admonition came to mind as I pondered the amazing amount of time and energy film historian Charles Musser put to the task of compiling a 700-page annotated filmography of film strips produced at the Edison Laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey, between 1890 and 1900. Most of these short Edison films were made in The Wizard's famous Black Maria, America's first movie studio, nicknamed for its resemblance to a turn-of-the century paddy wagon.

The volume documents 936 films, providing a production history, catalogue description, and in most cases, a frame enlargement for each film. These Edison "shorts" — often lasting no longer than 25 seconds — were produced for commercial use in peep-box Kinetoscope parlors, vaudeville shows, and storefront nickelodeons. Thus they marked the earliest artifacts in the pre-history of the 20th century obsession with the movies, and indeed, the modern mass media.

It's a given that Musser's exhaustive catalogue represents a major scholarly effort by an esteemed film historian. Even so, was the task worth doing, no matter how well? No doubt a reader lacking a Ph.D. in film history (or a graduate student aspiring thereto) might well raise that very question. Of course, scholarly filmographies, like annotated bibliographies, are rarely rip-roaring reads. Even so, a careful study of Musser's work can provide the general reader with many of the pleasures of a true-life adventure.

You will come across numerous interesting characters (from Edison, himself, to many of his performers, such as Sandow the muscle-man; Carmencita the Belly Dancer; Buffalo Bill; and champion boxer Jim Corbett. Likewise, you will find intriguing historical plots — from pseudo-newsreels of the Spanish-American War filmed in New Jersey using the New York City National Guard, to films featuring all too real natural disasters and human calamities. Moreover, like any good adventure story, there are startling surprises that both challenge and confirm many of the myths about the beginnings of the American film industry. One surprise is Musser's claim that Edison was more personally involved in the invention of motion pictures than most revisionist historians have believed.

Give Musser's massive catalogue a chance and you just might find yourself involved in an adventure worthy of Professor Indiana Jones' search for the lost Arc. Here, the adventure is Professor Musser's obsessive search to uncover the lost links between the infant American film industry of the 1890s and the American mass media of the 1990s. Fortunately, Musser provides us a useful treasure map in the form of an introductory critical essay, "Edison Film Production, Representation and Exploitation in the 1890s" in which he argues for the value of viewing these early Edison films within the wider cultural history of the period. Thus Musser asks how these earliest of American films raise a number of essential questions. What kind of meanings were attached to these images and how did they imagine the world? What functions did they perform within the framework of an ascendant commercial popular culture? What was their relationship to the larger culture and society? And what impact did they have on subsequent motion picture practices and American life?

As the breadth of the above question suggests, these Edison kinetoscopes provide a treasure trove of representations of American life at the turn of the century. Indeed, discovering how Americans were led to see themselves and the world around them in 1890 will prove invaluable to a wide range of scholars beyond film and media studies — those working, for example, in cultural history, gender and ethnic studies, journalism, and social and political history.

Toward this end, Musser includes in his catalogue not only information about the films as a text but as a cultural event. Descriptions of the films are often accompanied by newspaper accounts of the film's production, exhibition, and audience reception. Musser's cultural approach to films as rhetorical event as much as texts allows us to see more fully how the Edison Company produced films that displayed both cosmopolitan internationalism and a jingoistic nationalism. Moreover, the Edison films were commercially corrupt from the beginning. Indeed, by 1897 Edison

was making filmed commercials for Admiral Cigarettes. Edison also knew the value of something akin to the star system. The appearance of a celebrity before Edison's camera was heavily promoted as a carefully orchestrated media event.

Edison was just as concerned to market to specific demographics, particularly women. And while the early cinema presented what Musser deems homo-social space, women were invited, even encouraged, to use film viewing as a way to gain access to the traditional male world. For example, through the peephole of the kinetoscope, women could enjoy studying the nearly naked body of Sandow the Muscle Man (as they say on television) up close and personal.

As Musser notes, motion pictures contributed to the breakdown of two discrete and complimentary realms—rugged masculinity and feminine domesticity—by pulling the veil from the former and exposing it to the latter. Musser's painstaking compilation bears witness to the fact that by 1900 a rhetorical space and a social-political site had been created in American popular culture that led not only to the classic Hollywood cinema, but the TV commercial, and television news, formed alike in the fertile womb of Edison's Black Maria.

>G.Tom Poe The University of Missouri, Kansas City

Mainstreams of American Media History

By Hiley H. Ward, Allyn and Bacon: Boston, 1997. 542 pp.

More a collection of mosaics than mainstreams, Ward's history ably fulfills his stated purpose of highlighting some of the exciting and challenging dimensions of journalism history "to capture the romance of ideas, events, and the people" who made it all happen. "History is exciting," Ward observes in his preface, and that excitement fills the pages of this readable work.

Not a conventional history in the tradition of Mott or Emery and Emery, his approach is both chronological and topical. For instance, he contrasts what he described as a herd mentality on the part of Civil War correspondents with Vietnam war reporters getting their information by swapping stories with friends. A section on the political motivations of Benjamin Harris are juxtaposed with an example of an editorial writer fired for writing a peace editorial at the height of the Persian Gulf War fever. "Anyone not supporting or agreeing with the popular consensus is out of line and may pay a price," Ward concludes.

One of the book's strengths is these periodic insights which summarize the importance of events being discussed. For instance, he ends a

section on the impact of television and society, "In nearly all phases of television from presenting news to selecting values to participating in the political process, the anecdote becomes the message."

Ward's book is filled with priceless nuggets, presented in a typographically-pleasing, reader-friendly manner. There are excerpts from Richard Locke's Great Moon Hoax in the *New York Sun*, as well as the paper's "Yes, Virginia, There Is a Santa Claus," by Francis Church. Origins of names of papers are detailed. There are political cartoons about Abraham Lincoln, portions of William Allen White's Pulitzer Prize-winning editorials are reprinted, and there is a sidebar on the history of the Pulitzer prizes. The list goes on: the beginnings of photography, an informative sidebar on E.W. Scripps, a revisionist comparison of Citizen Kane with Citizen Hearst, a look at the classic Depression-era photographers, a summary of television's greatest ads, profiles of World War II correspondents, and thumbnail biographies of who's who in television broadcasting, among others.

There are some valuable in-depth looks at subjects that are glossed over or written with a traditional perspective in other histories. For instance, one section analyzes the Hearst formula for sensationalism, with a succinct explanation of the success of yellow journalism balanced with an account of Hearst's crusades against graft and corruption. Ward's treatment of the careers of Pulitzer and Hearst is a valuable distillation that puts the two giants of American journalism into perspective.

There's a scorecard of the success of muckraking journalists in bringing about the passage of legislation or other reforms, a balanced perspective of their impact and a historically-sound analysis of why the Progressive movement gradually evaporated.

The book is tightly written and edited, jam-packed with historic anecdotes that make for entertaining and informative reading. If there is any shortcoming to the work, it is that the narration often skips from past to present and back again, potentially disconcerting for someone who does not have a grasp of historical perspective. That drawback is more than compensated by perceptive summaries of eras or developments in American journalism. Discussion and research questions at the end of each chapter are well-constructed to encourage critical thinking about what has been covered.

The multiplicity of subjects is tied together by consistent categories in each chapter: Media As Purveyors of Information/Education; Media As Fourth Estate Adversaries of Government; Media As Political Organs; Media As Voices of Freedom; Media As Voices of Reform; Media As Businesses; Media As Vehicles of Sensationalism/Entertainment; and Media As Definers and Keepers of Values (and biases).

Ward concludes with what he sees is a new set of moral and legal concerns about the information-age media, raising questions about what new technology is doing to creativity, copyright and privacy, whether the Internet will turn us into a nation of loners, and how society will deal with challenges to the First Amendment. "There is a consistency to human nature, and things that are peculiar today often have been done or occurred before, and sometimes more emphatically," he observes. The author, retired from Temple University and a book review editor for *Editor & Publisher*, set out to create a work with the emphasis on readability, human interest, intellectual stimulus, relevance, and learning primarily what is worth remembering. He succeeds admirably!

>W. Richard Whitaker, Buffalo State College

The Princely Press: Machiavelli on American Journalism **by John Calhoun Merrill. University Press of America: Lanham, MD, 1998. 138 pp.**

John Merrill's latest contribution to his already substantial body of work on the philosophy of journalism is more than a bit perplexing. While entertaining, for the most part, and a quick read, it leaves one wondering what exactly is going on between the covers. In *The Princely Press* Merrill transports his readers back in time to Florence, Italy, in 1522 as he conducts a series of interviews with Niccolo Machiavelli covering topics relating to press freedom and responsibility, such as mission, power, freedom, ethics, the state, the people, objectivity, responsibility and propaganda. These fantasy interviews are set in the period after Machiavelli has written *The Prince*, but before it has been published.

Offered as a transcript of conversations, question and answer and point-counterpoint, the text moves along at a good pace. However, as is often the case with any conversation, there are lengthy periods when nothing of substance seems to be said. In fact, taken as a whole, the book seems to offer few, if any, new ideas from Merrill. There appears to be nothing said here by Merrill regarding his philosophy of journalism that he hasn't said in his earlier work. What we appear to be left with then is what Merrill imagines Machiavelli would say about press freedom because, of course, Machiavelli never said or wrote anything about the press. However, despite protestations to the contrary in the author's preface, one can't help but wonder if Merrill really isn't using Machiavelli to speak through.

In many places, Machiavelli sounds more like Merrill than the JM who is interviewing NM. Machiavelli seems prone to spout off about all

kinds of issues. Suffice it to say that his opinions are bound to raise more than a few eyebrows. For example, Machiavelli has no kind words for journalism education, university professors he calls communitarians, political correctness, and how mass media affects researchers and their work. This is not to say that Machiavelli shouldn't, or wouldn't, speak his mind, but it is the flippant, shoot-from-the-hip nature in which these comments are made that is troublesome.

There are several unfortunately worded, gratuitous comments that border on the offensive, e.g., on pages 20-21 Machiavelli uses the word "effeminate" to describe a trait in contemporary journalists he disproves of, and then goes on to illustrate his point by discussing the behavior of homosexual males. Also, it is quite clear from Machiavelli's point of view that all journalists are men, or should be. None of these comments are necessary, nor do they move any of the book's ideas forward.

The book does fall prey to anachronism despite Merrill's efforts. Most of these occur when the supposedly as-yet-unpublished *Prince* is discussed as if it were already widely known and read. Furthermore, Merrill tries to lend the book an air of literary journalism through his attempts to set the scenes for his meetings with Machiavelli. However, most of these attempts are tepid imaginings about the weather that day, or the view outside Machiavelli's window. Taylor Caldwell and Anne Rice were far more successful with this format in their interviews with devils and vampires.

>Joseph P. McKerns, Ohio State University

A Race at Bay: New York Times Editorials on "The Indian Problem," 1860-1900

by Robert G. Hays, Southern Illinois Press: Carbondale, 1997. 357 pp.

In 1879, a young woman named Rose Meeker wrote an angry public letter about the murder of her missionary father by the Ute Indians of Colorado. She criticized the army's slow response to the Ute attack, lamenting that the "cow-boys of Colorado" had not been called into service. The cow-boys, she believed, "would have made so clean a work of the red devils that it would have been hard to find one alive to-day." But Rose Meeker's anger extended beyond the Utes to an entire race.

"The life of one common white man is worth more than all the Indians from the beginning of creation until the present time," she wrote. Indians, she continued, are "a savage foe, whose life or soul is not worthy of a dog."

Given the circumstances, Rose Meeker's opinions of Indians were not unusual. What was unusual was *The New York Times*' response to her

letter. The paper used it as an opportunity to criticize the white land-grabbers and the federal government's mistreatment of the Utes. The Times also took the late missionary to task, criticizing Nathan Meeker's "aggressive benevolence" and "unlawful meddling" in tribal life. Finally, the paper used the letter to ridicule the purported "noble qualities" of Western women like Rose Meeker. "Men are often rough, unfeeling and brutal, but women are full of tenderness and compassion," the *Times* said sarcastically. "Their eyes fill with sympathetic tears when they see a white man suffering from a knowledge of the fact that somewhere an Indian owns a valuable piece of land . . . ."

The *Times'* treatment of this letter illustrates the usefulness of this collection of editorials on "the Indian problem." As compiled and introduced by Robert G. Hays, the book demonstrates the *Times'* long-standing interest in Indians as well as its patterns of advocacy on their behalf. In contrast to some more militant papers, the *Times* offered a range of humanitarian ideas about Indians, including reform ideas that tried to see beyond white clichés of native life.

The editorials also reveal the limits of this editorial sympathy. Although the *Times* praised many "good" Indians, it criticized Indian leaders who were violent or otherwise resistant to white civilization. The Apache chief Victorio was one such target. "There is no extra sympathy to be expended on Victorio and his band. They were a hard set of outlaws and horse thieves," the *Times* noted. "Like most Indians in the Southwest, they were of a low type, having plenty of cunning and audacity, naturally predatory and murderous."

Other *Times* editorials, such as those condemning the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, came years after the controversy, too late to make much difference in the West. The *Times* response to the Dawes Severalty Act was equally ineffective. The paper argued that the move from communal land holdings to individual ownership was good for Indians and urged the government to carry out the act fairly. This faith in high-minded reform and its beneficial effects was naive at best and, in retrospect, an ill-considered position that slashed native landholdings.

Perhaps such "enlightened" editorials helped liberalize future policies and government actions, easing the suffering of Indian people. If so, the *Times* served a worthy cause. In the end, however, no impassioned editorials from the *Times* (or any other paper) could stop western expansion or spare the cultural and physical displacement that this movement brought to Native Americans.

Because it is limited to one newspaper, *A Race at Bay* presents a narrow view of the 19th century press. In addition, the book does not include news stories and illustrations, material that was undoubtedly

important in forming attitudes among readers. Finally, collections of this type suffer from a lack of historical context, a problem Hays works hard to overcome in his thoughtful introductions to each chapter. Hays also suggests that readers seek additional information about the many complex issues covered in the book—a wise suggestion.

On balance, *A Race at Bay* is a valuable contribution to the study of Indian-white relations in the 19th century press. The book offers powerful evidence of the difficulties of one important and well-meaning newspaper as it attempted to understand and explain a complicated set of racial ethical and policy ideas over a 40-year span. The *Times* editorials also reveal the persistence of particular themes in popular thought about Indians, demonstrating how intractable such ideas were (and are) in American public life. As Hays writes, "We seem to continue through repeated cycles in which issues remain the same and problems are rarely fully resolved." He's right, which is another reason this book is so valuable.

>John Coward, University of Tulsa

Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through the Camera's Eye

by Barbie Zelizer, The University of Chicago Press, 1998. 292 pp.

It's probably fair to say that had there been no photographs of the Nazi concentration camp war atrocities, made as the camps were liberated in April and May 1945, there would not be the persistent benchmark awareness and permanence of horrific memory which exists in today's world, causing us to label each fresh eruption and revelation of mass human slaughter as a "holocaust" (Rwanda, Kosovo, *ad nauseum*).

Zelizer's book is the most exhaustive scholarly work to date which deals with the fact and impact of text and visual portrayal of those grisly World War II discoveries. Her method is essentially historical, her interest is transparently personal, her horripilation genuine and passionate. Her analysis opens those communications to a series of interesting, albeit debatable, interpretations. War photography had been sanitized, for the most part, until 1943 when American dead finally were depicted. It's been said that we remember WW II in black-and-white, which was the dominant mode of photography throughout its visual recording. It also can be hypothesized that subsequent wars and "conflicts" are remembered in color and more realistically. The mud, blood, and crud entailed in those post-World War II failures of human conduct probably seem more real to most viewers when in Technicolor. Again, the mode and norms of photography, joined by its modern brethren and sisters of film, video, and other visual media, are responsible

Zelizer's central theoretic premise is that our collective memories of public historic events are shaped by the media and their messages which act as agents of record. Repeated transmission of messages concerning particular historic events flavor what we remember and how we remember those phenomena. As times passes, particularly powerful images, repeated often in a variety of contexts, become public icons. Zelizer begins her analysis with a theoretic statement of the historical process of collective memory, expounding on how societies formulate collective memory in its social, selective, cultural, political, dynamic, unpredictable, functional, material, interpretive ramifications. If this sounds like a mishmash of levels of analysis, don't be put off.

Zelizer's analysis isn't intended to be definitive but rather suggestive. She doesn't argue she has the answers, but prefers to raise intriguing questions. In fact, she does not insist upon the theoretic premise beyond Chapter One. For readers who'd just as soon skip the sometimes swampy, squishy world of abstraction and conceptualization, I can promise a fascinating, mostly satisfying read if Chapter One is skipped altogether.

However, Zelizer raises an important argument. She plays with a typography suggested by two values each for two variables; i.e., a 2 x 2 table. Variable one is remembering the holocaust of WW II (yes, no). Variable two is remembering contemporary atrocity (yes, no). The puzzle is this: Do we forget (fail to remember) WW II atrocity as well as forget (ignore) contemporary atrocity? Do we remember both? Do we remember one but not the other? In short, what is the connection (if any) between collective memory of the past and our understanding of the present and future? Does the past memory become jaded, memorized, easily categorized (and thus not "seen" freshly)? If so, does this affect our contemporary "seeing" of similar instance? The title of her book reveals Zelizer's thesis.

This idea—the possibility of "narcotizing dysfunction" raised by Harold D. Lasswell, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and Robert K. Merton in their structural-functional musings concerning the role of mass media just prior to mid-century and continuing a decade or so beyond—takes on an eerie urgency after remaining dormant in the scholarly literature for many years. In Zelizer's words:

> This recycling of photos from the past not only dulls our response to them but potentially undermines the immediacy and depth of our response to contemporary instances of brutality, discounting them as somehow already known to us.

If this is so, why do we bother to record and study and use history in contemporary life? I'm not sure Zelizer, who obviously has practiced the

tools of history in this densely footnoted book, gives the reader a satisfying, complete answer as she progresses through photojournalism and evidence of German atrocities before WW II liberation days, Russian liberation of the Eastern concentration camps in 1944, and subsequent press coverage in 1945 and beyond (with separate chapters devoted to reporting by word and by image). Finally, a warning. The 57 figures which illustrate the book are disturbing, particularly since many have not been reprinted often and are therefore "fresh."

>Ronald E. Ostman, Cornell University

Screening the Los Angeles "Riots": Race, Seeing and Resistance

By Darnell M. Hunt, Cambridge University Press, 1997. 313 pp.

Most media personnel permeated their discussions and analysis of the 1992 beating of motorist Rodney King and the subsequent exoneration of the four white police officers charged in the incident with references to the sad condition of race relations in the United States. Likewise, media discourse about the ensuing Los Angeles riots that ended in 51 deaths and cost the residents more than $1 billion in property damage also framed what would later be described as "the worse riots of the century" in the language of race.

However, Darnell Hunt focuses on those same 1992 Los Angeles riots in examining the crucial interplay between television news, racial identity, and social change. Hunt argues that the mass media are important players in the construction and reproduction of racial meanings, a key component in illustrating the way race shapes the audiences' reception of information. In his study, Hunt combines both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, influenced by critical media studies and the sociology of race, to determine the power of the media to impose a particular view of reality on audiences and to illustrate how race might figure into viewers' tendencies to resist media influence.

Hunt's study examines how 15 groups of college-age friends and/or family members made up of five Latino, five African American, and five white groups (for a total of 65 participants) responded to a 17-minute extract from first-day news coverage of the riots by local television station KTTV. Hunt explained that the targeted age group was selected because the participants had not been born when most of the 1960s riots occurred. This was intended to minimize the possibility of the participants immediately associating the 1992 events with those of the past and to "examine the sources of knowledge this group referred to when decoding the selected news text."

In addition, about half the groups lived in South Central Los Angeles, a relatively low socio-economic status area the media identified as the center of the events, while the remainder of the groups were from the more affluent Westside, geographically somewhat removed from the areas where much of the destruction and activity took place. This selection process was designed to explore any "raced-grouping, class (i.e., socio-economic status as proxy), and/or gender differences in the meaning-making process among informants."

Hunt found that black and Latino groups were animated during the screening of the KTTV text, while the white groups watched quietly. Hunt also determined that raced subjectivity was particularly important for black group members, while raced subjectivity was less important to the white and Latino groups. In other words, white and Latino participants were less likely than black participants to discuss themselves in raced terms, while they were more likely than their black counterparts to condemn the looting and the setting of fires and to support the arrests.

For example, according to Hunt's study, blacks' interpretation of the events as "protest" seemed to be consistent with their perceptions of American society as racially "unjust." By comparison, non-blacks' perception of the events as "crime" appeared consistent with their tendency to feel less vilified by the system. Hunt concluded there was clearly a link between racial subjectivity and how participants made sense of the news. Hunt also identified at least 14 major assumptions embedded in the text of the KTTV extract to be shown to the participants. Thus, it was from these assumptions or encoded meanings that viewers derived their "meanings" or understanding of the events.

The study raises several questions about the Hunt's choice of participants or "informants" in the project. Why were there no black informants living outside South Central Los Angeles? How much impact did the locale for the informant interviews have on the participants' responses? Although Hunt determined that socio-economic status and gender of the study participants seemed to have little influence on their differences in viewing the KTTV extracts, the study does not fully take into account pre-existing meanings and responses that the participants might have already formulated for the terminology used in the news coverage. Similarly, there is no discussion or explanation of the maturity level or the impressionable nature of teenagers and college freshmen.

However, the greatest value of Hunt's study lies in the attempt to provide an explanation that looks beyond the overly simplistic rationalization that poor race relations served as the core of the 1992 riots. It also provides further evidence that the mass media play a multifaceted powerful role in how we construct and interpret reality.

>Bernell E. Tripp, University of Florida

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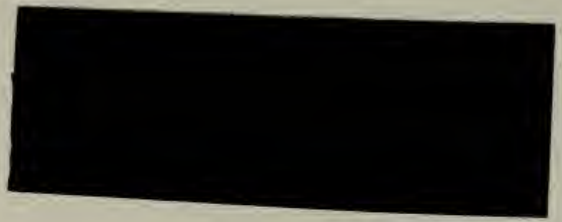

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Editor's Note

A Wonderful Way to Say "Goodbye"

This issue of *American Journalism* is devoted to a long glance back at the role technology has played in the history of the media. More than a year ago I approached David Mindich with the idea of serving as Guest Editor for this special edition. He has done a wonderful job, compiling some surprising, excellent scholarship around the topic. Thank you, David.

Regular readers of *American Journalism* also will notice that David developed a new format for this special issue, which includes short highlight pieces called *Circuits* to accompany the juried articles. Another departure from tradition is a separate section, featuring four different authors who comment on how the Internet fits in the rapid evolution of media history. Then David added a Guest Essay by noted scholar James W. Carey, to give readers an overview of the relationship between journalism and technology.

Presenting several types of articles in differing formats allowed us to introduce even more thought-provoking ideas in one issue and also expanded the page count for the journal to record size for a single issue under my tenure as Editor. The challenge was to organize the material in a way that would make some sense, given the breadth and length of the content. I hope you'll find this departure from our regular format fun and interesting. It's fitting that my last issue as Editor of *American Journalism* should be the most challenging and also the most rewarding.

It would take another hefty edition of the journal to list all the people who have made my three years as Editor so fulfilling. This includes all the authors who did (and didn't) get published, the reviewers and the members of AJHA. The next issue of the journal will be in the capable, gifted hands of the journal's new Editor, Karla Gower, at the University of Alabama. I especially want to thank Carol Sue Humphrey for her spirited, enthusiastic help with all the subscribers; David Sloan, the journal's founding editor, for his valuable, supportive and ongoing advice; Wally Eberhard, who preceded me as Editor and would listen to (if not always agree with) my thoughts about this job; and, of course, Timi Poeppelman, without whom the journal (and its Editor) could not have survived the last three years.

Thank you, AJHA, for giving me the great opportunity to serve as Editor of this fine academic journal. It's been a pleasure.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

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The Buzz: Technology in Journalism and Mass Communication History

By David T. Z. Mindich, *Guest Editor*

Technology and the larger media environment are forever intertwined. So much so that historians still debate whether 19th century printing technology created mass reading publics, or vice versa. When John Berger viewed social isolationism and declared, "The days of pilgrimage are over," did he refer to changes wrought by television, or was television the product of our pilgrimage-less days?[1] Does the current Internet explosion promise a wider gap between the information haves and have-nots, or is the knowledge gap created by inequities in education, wealth and social standing? Technology and the media environment are a chicken-and-egg, a white-on-rice, a Gordian knot. And while technology has long been touted as a panacea, in a vacuum it cannot bring about change.

The example of the telegraph, "objectivity," and race in the 1890s is a case in point. In *The Art of Newspaper Making,* Charles Dana viewed the advances made possible by the telegraph and wire services and likened them to a hand, "its fingers reaching out toward every quarter of the globe . . . bring[ing] back the treasures of intellectual wealth that are stored up there."[2] Newspaper editors would be freed of "drudgery," "emancipated" from hard labor and allowed to live an unburdened life of thought and devotion to civilized society, wrote Dana.[3] But what did these heralded advances in technology yield? Despite the rise of rapid communication, the shedding of partisan baggage, and the growing use of "objective" practices, the daily press of late 19th century America had a great deal of trouble understanding a range of stories, especially those involving race.[4]

David Mindich is Associate Professor and Chair of the Journalism and Mass Communication Department at Saint Michael's College, the founder of Jhistory, a listserv, and the author of *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (NYU Press, 1998). He can be reached at: dmindich@smcvt.edu.

Technology did help journalism in the 1890s, but only to an extent. Journalists, when confronted with lynching—one of the biggest news stories of the 1880s and 1890s—allowed themselves to be scooped, by decades, by Ida B. Wells and other anti-lynching advocates. While technology sharpened and extended the journalistic bullhorn, it lagged in its ability to create the necessary interior changes needed to promote a better understanding of why more than a thousand blacks were lynched in the 1889-1894 period. Technology did help disseminate some of Wells' findings (see Harry Amana's essay in this issue), but white editors generally excluded Wells and others from the debate. It devolved to a different set of technologies — those of the African American churches and meeting houses, the self-published pamphlets and small-circulation black presses — to spread what would emerge as the truth about lynching, that African Americans were not deserving victims, but victims of widespread and unprovoked terror.[5]

At the dawn of the 21st century one would expect millennial exuberance about the promise of technology. Indeed, that sentiment was expressed 100 years ago, both in the popular press and in the nascent field of media history scholarship. Even today, this exuberance abounds in the popular press. But the collection of scholarship in this issue is refreshing in its acknowledgment that technology is inextricably tied to the ecology of media, especially to the raw material of any communication device: humankind.

This issue of *American Journalism* contains four articles about technology and media history, four short essays about technology-related images, and a final "Guest Essay" piece by James W. Carey. The first article, by Menahem Blondheim, builds upon the research of his fine book, *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844-1897* (Harvard, 1994). In the article, Blondheim acknowledges the telegraph's effect on journalism but argues that journalism, especially the New York Associated Press, shaped the evolution of the telegraph.

Jonathan Coopersmith, Texas A & M, writes about the evolution of Wirephoto in the 1930s. Like the telegraph, Wirephoto was a technology in search of a raison d'être; the cost benefit of Wirephoto became apparent only if timely photographs added value to the news, a debatable claim in the 1920s and 1930s.

Scott Maier writes about the first computer analysis of public records and makes a clear connection between the quality of programming and the value of the final computer-aided product. In 1968, Maier's article shows, this connection was no greater than it is today, only more apparent.

In "The Internet Moment and Past Moments," Ford Risley, Jon Bekken, William J. Leonhirth and Andie Tucher view four historical moments that resemble aspects of the Internet. They are the rise of the telegraph; the attempts, by labor groups, to create a national daily newspaper; the birth of cable television; and the emergence of James Gordon Bennett's colorful journalism.

In addition to these refereed pieces, readers will be interested in the short essays referred to as "Circuits" on technology-related images, written by four experts in the field: Jon Hyde, Harry Amana, Kathleen Endres and Paulette Kilmer. Finally, James W. Carey, who has done as much as anyone to place technology culturally and historically within a media landscape, wrote the "Guest Essay" piece in the back of the journal, "Journalism and Technology."

This special edition of *American Journalism* benefited from the detailed and helpful comments of a fine group of judges. They are David Abrahamson, Chris Allen, Gerald Balasty, Douglas Birkhead, Diane Borden, Kathryn Campbell, David Copeland, David Davies, Kathleen Endres, Alan Fried, Douglas Gomery, Tracy Gottlieb, Bill Huntzicker, Jon Hyde, Carolyn Kitch, Karen Miller, Kit Rushing, Richard A. Schwarzlose, David Spencer, Kimberly Sultze, and Mary Ann Weston. I am also indebted to Shirley Biagi and Timi Poeppelman for their guidance throughout the project. I am honored to be part of the final issue of the Biagi-Poeppelman team; their stewardship of *AJ* has been extraordinary.

Endnotes

[1]John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Video), BBC 1972.

[2]Charles A. Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making Art of Newspaper Making* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), 5.

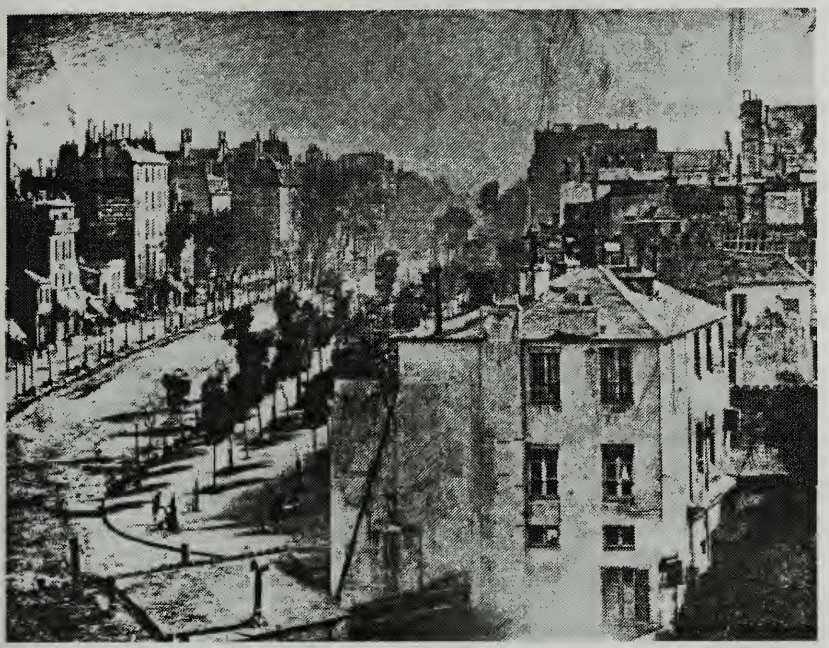
[3]Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making*, 64.

[4]David T. Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (NYU Press, 1998), 113-143.

[5]Mindich, *Just the Facts*, 127-137.

Getting a Better Picture

By Jon E. Hyde
Saint Michael's College



View of the Boulevard du Temple, Paris, 1839. L. J. M. Daguerre

When attempting to identify some of the roots of a visual culture which watches more than seven hours of television a day and spends more than $50 million a week for the latest summer blockbuster, historians and social critics alike often focus on the early technical beginnings of the moving image — early Hollywood film, 1950s television, and lately, the advent of digital imaging. Not bad places to look. Yet, what often gets overlooked, or more frequently sidestepped, is the development of photography and the

View of the Boulevard du Temple, Paris, 1839. L. J. M. Daguerre

creation of photo-based images. This can be quite an oversight. Many of the earliest photographs give us not only an excellent preview of the obsessions of our modern media (infatuations with celebrity, stylizing the self as an image, etc.), but also an excellent look at the difficulties all forms of human imaging (petroglyphs to pixels) have had in documenting "reality."

Daguerre's image of the *Boulevard du Temple* in Paris, 1839, provides a good example. For a variety of reasons, this image is sometimes mistakenly cited as the very first photograph and, more frequently, the first photograph of a person (two people in fact, a man having his boots polished by a shoeshiner, lower left corner of the image). Although inaccurate, such claims are not surprising. Technically, Daguerre was able to accomplish what few had mastered before him. This included techniques for stopping, fixing, and developing latent images in minutes rather than hours.

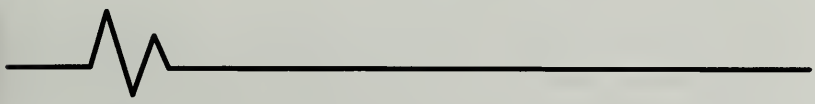
Moreover, Daguerre had created a photographic process which frequently resulted in stunningly high resolution images. Even today the mirror-like quality of many daguerreotypes gives them an almost three-dimensional, holographic appearance. Having been granted a preview of the image before its official public exhibition, the American scientist and inventor Samuel Morse exclaimed in a letter to his family, "You cannot imagine how exquisite is the fine detail portrayed. No painting or engraving could ever hope to touch it. For example, when looking over a street one could notice a distant advertisement . . . With the help of a hand lens, each letter became perfectly and clearly visible, and it was the same thing for the tiny cracks on the walls of buildings or the pavements of the streets."

Yet, as with almost any photograph, what is missing from Daguerre's image is as important as what is visible. While his use of iodine and mercury vapors had allowed him to reduce exposure times enough to capture objects which remained stationary for the duration of the exposure, those people or objects which moved did not appear in Daguerre's final image. Hence, all of the people, carts, dogs, horses which were busily

moving down this Parisian boulevard — all but the two engaged in a shoeshine — effectively erased themselves from photographic history. Perhaps this is a sort of poetic-photographic justice for shoeshiners and those *not* always on the move, as well as a glimpse into the malleability of photographic documentation.

What's also frequently overlooked with this image is its ties to the worlds of entertainment, business and science. As the successful producer of the dioramas in both Paris and London — often labeled the first cinemas — Daguerre initially had strong vested interests in using photographs to perfect the imagistic illusions he used to entertain audiences. Later, such interests were transferred into being able to sell the various components of his photographic technique, including the official Daguerre camera and the official instructional manual (printed in five different languages by 1841).

Additionally, the relationship Daguerre cultivated with Francois Arago further extended the profitability of photography. As one of the leading French scientists of the time, Arago represented Daguerre's invention to the Academy of Sciences as a scientific advance as well as a tool to advance science. Later, Arago played a pivotal role in procuring for Daguerre a healthy federal stipend of 4,000 francs/year. Daguerre was not the last to recognize the profits to be gleaned from a new media technology.



The Click: Telegraphic Technology, Journalism, and the Transformations of the New York Associated Press

By Menahem Blondheim

This article traces the influences flowing between the telegraph and the press, through focusing on the emergence and early development of the New York Associated Press (NYAP) as an institution mediating between journalism and telegraphy. It finds that the telegraph was instrumental in bringing about cooperation between newspapers in newsgathering, ultimately changing the role of the individual newspaper from national and international gathering of crude, primary news to creatively presenting it. Founded on a broad telegraph-based news-net, the wire service made possible comprehensive gathering and simultaneous diffusion of a uniform news product throughout the country, thus promoting the vision of a common national news environment. Journalism in turn helped promote the telegraph and was instrumental in shaping the a-synchronous, one way architecture of message flow. Most significantly, it discovered the broadcast capabilities of the new medium.

Journalist James Gordon Bennett correctly predicted that the spreading of the telegraph over America would effect great "revolutions and changes." "Speculation itself," he counseled his *New York Herald* readers, "in the very wildness of its conjectures, may fall far short of the mighty results." Nevertheless, Bennett tried his hand in a technology assessment of telegraphy in its effects on journalism, and came up with a "mighty result" indeed. The news function of the newspaper, he believed, would shortly become history: "the mere *news*papers—the

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circulators of intelligence merely — must submit to destiny and go out of existence."[1] This result is still routinely forecast with every significant breakthrough in communications technology and is yet to happen. Nevertheless, the communication revolution which the telegraph wrought definitely represented a serious challenge to the daily newspaper.

Rather than fold, the press of Bennett's era eased its way into the age of electric communications through the agency of the news wire service. What became known as the New York Associated Press (NYAP)[2] represented journalism's most significant, and ultimately successful, effort to adjust to, and cope with, the new reality of instantaneous communication.[3] Yet the reasons for this particular response to the challenge, and the process through which the NYAP emerged to contain the 19th century communication revolution on behalf of a veteran communication institution is not yet fully understood.

Even less understood is journalism's impact on the development of American telegraphy. As James Gordon Bennet's effusion illustrates, the press played an important role in shaping imaginations and attitudes toward the telegraph, but it affected its development in much more direct ways, too. In fact, news transmission made the diffusion of telegraphy possible in the first place. By transmitting fresh news ahead of any alternative means, the experimental telegraph line that connected Washington and Baltimore in May 1844 showed a skeptical public that the new technology was indeed capable of instantaneous communications. Telegraphic reports published in the press also demonstrated that the telegraph was a useful medium, not only a delightful contraption. Moreover, newspapers, by direct investment in pioneer lines facilitated the building of many of them; and when these lines opened for business the daily newspaper press was their largest user. It was the press, not the railroads, that figured as what historians of technology call the "supervening necessity" in the diffusion of the telegraph.[4]

The crucial role played by the press in the earliest stage of American telegraphy was, however, only one chapter in a dynamic, and as journalists might say, developing story. Technologies and technological systems tend to be mutable creatures. Their creators, deployers and users modify, even re-invent, them in the process of their large-scale diffusion.

Telegraphy, as a technology and as a utility, went through highly significant changes in its first decade. Journalism would remain a dominant shaping influence as telegraphy evolved from a single slender copper wire connecting two distant terminals into a dense network of communication machines. Nor was the press, however more mature, a static institution. Only a decade or two before the advent of the telegraph it had supposedly "discovered the news," or at least discovered the magic of

timeliness in news.[5] The telegraph, of course, directly affected this aspect of journalism by radically altering the timeframe of news gathering; but it could also affect less obvious, though at least as significant, aspects of newspaper making and publishing.

As liaison between the novel telegraph technology and the veteran social institution of the press, the emergence and development of the NYAP brings into focus the reciprocal influences flowing between journalism and telegraphy. In the following pages, an interpretation of this process is proposed, based on dividing early news wire service history into three phases of institution building.

The first of these phases was the association of six major New York dailies in the summer of 1846 for joint telegraphic transmission of news from key distant news centers to New York. In its second phase the association developed into the main news-gathering arm of its member newspapers for breaking non-local news. Finally, the third phase represented the transformation of the NYAP into a news provider for the nation's press, by establishing a coherent, large scale system for vending the association's telegraphic news to out-of-town newspapers.

These phases of NYAP development, it will be demonstrated, both reflected and affected significant departures in the evolution of American telegraphy into a national communication system, as well as significant developments in the American news environment. The transformations of the NYAP can thus serve to illustrate and interpret the early interface of journalism and telegraphy.

The Telegraph Dilemma: Allocution or Interaction

Two conflicting visions of communication loomed over the telegraph's cradle, a vision of two-way interaction and a vision of one-way allocution. Samuel F. B. Morse appears to have been pregnant with this twin vision of telegraphy as he perfected his invention and engineered its application to the business of life.[6] He expected the telegraph to facilitate social interaction at a distance, by enabling real-time dyadic exchanges, even electrically mediated conversations, between relatives, friends and colleagues.[7] But he also envisioned the telegraph as a speedy errand boy, capable of spreading a message over vast territories. This message would unite great expanses and their human landscape through simultaneous possession of common knowledge. To Morse, a devout Protestant, this latter notion, resembling the vision of the good word transfusing the world, was particularly appealing.[8] Indeed, the ceremonial message he used for inaugurating the first line,[9] "what hath God wrought" referred, in its Biblical context, to the message delivered to an entire People, viewed

by Balaam from his scenic vantage point as a single, homogenous entity. Accessing the entire People with this message was, as the Book of Numbers suggested, a wondrous process, a feat superior to magic.[10]

If the inaugural message represented one vision of the telegraph, both imaginations were captured in the metaphor Morse used for illustrating the ultimate consequence of telegraphy: the making of "one neighborhood of the whole country."[11] Morse's metaphor, like its popular successor, the "global village," launched the creative collision between notions of proximity and distance. But the nature and meaning of neighborhood- or village-like proximity remained unresolved. Neighborhood brought to mind accessibility — a real, physical nearness enabling face-to-face interactions and convenient exchanges of information. But it also invoked virtual closeness, highlighting the organic nature of neighborhoods and villages as cohesive entities in which culture, knowledge, and even gossip, were widely shared and common to all.[12]

This ambiguity, Morse's double vision of telegraphy, found its way into the promotional practices he used in trying to popularize the telegraph. As superintendent of the government-sponsored experimental line between Washington and Baltimore, Morse supplied the press with transcripts of real-time conversations between the operators at either end of the wire as they exchanged pleasantries, commented on the weather in their respective cities, even as they teased each other. "General *Chat* by Lightning" (emphasis mine) was the headline of one such published item, using a terminology consonant with our contemporary, Internet-sensitive usage.[13] These chats demonstrated that with the advent of the telegraph, even as separated by great distances, "man would immediately respond to man," as if on the smallest village scale.[14]

Morse even organized online chess games between members of the chess clubs of Washington and Baltimore in his attempts to demonstrate the interactive capacities of the telegraph. But Morse's principal, and ultimately more successful, tactic in demonstrating the usefulness of his invention was sending news reports to the press. By these news messages, the "wonderful spectacle" of vast regions "consolidated and united ... as the city of New York" could materialize. These messages would "bind together with electrical forces" and "blend into one homogenous mass the whole population of the Republic."[15] Here was the incarnation of the religiously inspired vision of the telegraph spreading truth and knowledge all over the land, albeit in a two-step flow: by telegraph to the press, and by the press to the American public.[16]

Two years after the first line was put into operation, the two visions of telegraphy came into conflict. In the spring and summer of 1846 telegraph entrepreneurs were energetically and rapidly building up trunk (or major) lines. The Magnetic Telegraph Company was extending the

original Washington-Baltimore line northward, along the seaboard from Baltimore to Philadelphia and on to New York City. The line of the New York and New England Telegraph Company, controlled by Morse's partner, F.O.J. Smith, was pushing beyond New Haven and Hartford to Springfield and Boston. The New York State telegraph company was efficiently carrying out the most ambitious project—connecting New York with Buffalo, via Albany, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester and other intermediate cities, a distance of 507 miles. With a number of large cities interconnected by each of these telegraph lines, the regulation of message traffic between the various stations emerged as a serious challenge.

One aspect of the problem surfaced only minutes after the trunk-line between Washington and New York was completed, in the inaugural conversation between Morse and his operators. The chat began, smoothly enough, with Morse, in Washington, calling Baltimore:

Washington:	*Baltimore, are you in connection with Philadelphia?*
Baltimore:	*Yes*
Washington:	*Put me in connection with Philadelphia*
Baltimore:	*Aye aye sir! Wait a minute . . . Go ahead, you can now talk to Philadelphia.*
Washington:	*How do you do, Philadelphia?*
Philadelphia:	*Pretty well. Is that you Washington?*
Washington:	*Aye aye, are you connected with New York?*

It was, but in the process of adjusting New York's electromagnets so as to receive Washington, the cacophony began:

Philadelphia:	*I have been hard at work all day — I feel like bricks — had no supper — I have had a stiff evening's work, there has been so many messages to write . . . I want to go.*
Washington:	*Wait a little.*
Baltimore:	*Go it ye cripples.*
Philadelphia:	*Who is writing?*
Washington:	*Don't talk all at once*
Baltimore:	*Mary Rogers are a case* *So are Sally Thompsing* *Gen. Jackson are a hoss* *And so are Col. Johnsing.*
Philadelphia:	*Who is that? I will discuss that point.*
Washington:	*Baltimore, keep quiet.*[17]

With Morse trying to bring some order into the jumbled chattering of his communicative operators, the problem of telegraph network management presented itself in all its gravity. Two options presented themselves. One was to retain the person-to-person mode of telegraphic communication by enforcing discipline and establishing procedures that would allow orderly online dyadic exchanges and conferences, alongside one-way messaging. The alternative was setting strict schedules and rosters, giving each station its own exclusive turn for sending the messages it had accumulated to each of the other stations. Such messages would, of course, accumulate at the time the other stations were transmitting, each in its turn. This station-to-station, a-synchronous mode would leave no room for interactive communications.

The experience gained from more than a year of public telegraphy had an important influence on selecting a strategy. Beginning in April 1845, the pioneer telegraph line connecting Washington and Baltimore was opened to public commercial use. Thereafter, the press as a sector emerged as the line's largest customer, responsible for more than a third of its traffic. The transmission of business information accounted for another quarter of message traffic. The business of the press represented the one-way, allocution model, and so did most of the business information.

Applications requiring an interactive mode were in low demand. Social exchanges have been estimated to represent less than 10 percent of total message throughput, and although the line ran along the Baltimore and Ohio track, the railroad made no use of the telegraph for real-time regulation of its moving stock.[18] Press and business information services were the applications in greatest demand, so it was inevitable that the operating system adopted to regulate message flow would be designed to accommodate these "killer applications."

Indeed, it was the press-induced allocution model that prevailed. The New York State line was apparently the first to adopt the one-way, a-synchronous model. Once the line connected in New York, its operations fell into a state of chaos. Way stations and central offices, cities and towns all tried to send the messages piling up on their desks at once, log-jamming the entire network in their contests to occupy the through wire.[19] The line's managers responded by creating a network management program which gave each of the stations its turn at sending all its accumulated messages to each of the other stations connected to the line.[20] This a-synchronous architecture of telegraphic message flow was adopted on other lines, too. With it, Morse's original vision of friends and relatives conversing over great distances in real time, the wires featuring a remote "mysterious handshaking," and more generally, of telegraphic communications as interaction, had become history. Hereafter, only the one-way

model of telegraphic communication would be practicable. While the *modus operandi* of journalism had a crucial influence in shaping this architecture of telegraphic messaging, once applied it would have significant implications for press use of the telegraph. They would be closely related to the emergence of the New York Associated Press.

The Journalist's Dilemma: Competition or Cooperation

With Morse and his chieftains revising their initial ideas about telegraphy in light of its past service to the press, newspaper editors Moses Y. Beach in New York and William Swain in Philadelphia were pondering the future of the press business once the telegraph reached their cities. They found themselves caught in a dilemma. Beach and Swain were editors of their respective cities' largest circulating newspapers: Beach of the *New York Sun*, Swain of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Both editors attributed this distinction to their competitive advantages in speedy news gathering.[21] In May 1846 the completion of the entire line from Baltimore to Washington was imminent: before long it would be possible to expedite the stream of news from the seat of government, and perhaps even more important, the trickle of news from the battlefields of the Mexican War, to Philadelphia and New York by means of the telegraph. The journalists' dilemma related to the apparent conflict between cooperation as the most effective way of using the telegraph and the venerable tradition of newspaper competition.[22]

The choice was difficult. Individualistic competition, open opportunity, and free enterprise dominated the social discourse of Jacksonian America, as well as its political agenda. Monopoly, privilege and restriction of trade were portrayed in the characteristic rhetoric of the times as ghastly monsters fettering progress and hampering the commonweal. Newspapers that gleefully carried this polemic would find it problematic to avoid competition and combine, thus restricting trade in telegraphic news.

Not only did newspapers carry the rhetoric of competition, they also were expected to embody it. Indeed, they presented themselves to their readers as being as individualistic as their proprietor-editors and just as agonistic. In editorials, metropolitan sheets growled and sneered at each other, and competitive editors occasionally fought press wars with fists, canes, even shotguns — that is, when they were not overly occupied by the endless procession of libel suits they brought against each other.[23] The public was apparently fascinated by the rough and tumble of press wars. Deciding in favor of harmonious cooperation in telegraphic newsgathering would serve to kill the fun. Yet the rationale for cooperation between editors and newspapers appeared inescapable to Beach and Swain.

By the time the Washington-New York line was completed, on June 5, 1846, Beach and Swain had decided the thrills of competition and their past success in getting the news before their rivals would have to be sacrificed in the cause of a more effective structure for newsgathering by telegraph. Having reached his decision, Moses Beach began acting on it on a number of fronts.[24] After a short phase of cooperation with his two penny rivals, the *Herald* and the *Tribune*, he entered into negotiations with 10 of New York's major newspaper establishments, proposing that they all enter into a cooperative arrangement for receiving news reports transmitted over the new line jointly, sharing the expense.[25] Five of his leading competitors — the penny *Herald* and *Tribune* and the six-penny *Express*, *Journal of Commerce*, and *Courier and Enquirer* agreed to enter into the arrangement.

Beach went on to negotiate a cooperative arrangement with the association Swain had organized even earlier in Philadelphia. The associations agreed to procure a single news report from points South, and share the tolls for the Washington-Philadelphia leg of the through transmission to New York.[26] Finally, Beach affected an agreement with the management of the Magnetic Telegraph Company which determined the volume, tolls and schedules of the joint transmission.[27] By June 22, 1846, the series of arrangements Beach had made were put into operation. When the New York-Boston line was completed late in June, five of the six associates made a similar arrangement for joint telegraphic transmission of Boston news, including the European news landed in Boston harbor, to New York.[28] Once these arrangements went into operation the "association organized to receive news" began to be referred to as the "associated press."[29]

Thus the organization of the New York Associated Press coincided with the appearance of poles and wires in America's greatest metropolis in June 1846. It was a preliminary technology assessment that led Beach and his counterparts to cooperate, receiving news reports speeded by telegraph. The problem that forcefully presents itself, however, is why did Beach, Swain, and the other leading editors (described by a colleague barred from the New York association as the "lately warring antagonists but now loving co-laborers and sworn friends") respond to the new technology by agreeing to use it jointly? What precisely was it in the nature of the telegraph that transformed elements of competition between newspapers into cooperation?

It would appear that the most fundamental features of the novel technology made for the cooperative response on the New York journalistic scene. A combination of three of the most fundamental attributes of telegraphy were particularly relevant. These were the speed of telegraphic

transmission, the exclusiveness of signals in its process, and the channel-like nature of telegraphic communication, which enabled a continuous stream of information. The significance of this latter aspect of telegraphy to newsgathering would be realized only gradually; the first two were recognized immediately.

The Cooperative Rationale: Speedy Single Signals

The new order of celerity achieved by the telegraph touched on a crucial aspect of contemporary newspapermaking. The race for news scoops emerged in the late 1820s as the focal point of the strenuous competition between New York dailies. Once the penny press made its appearance in the mid 1830s with the London Plan as the basis of its marketing strategy, the competition for timely news became even more intense. Newsboys could now sell single issues of the daily to passersby, and subscribers were now committed to their newspaper for only short periods (characteristically one week). By scooping its contemporaries, a daily could expand its street sales, maintain the loyalty of its fickle subscribers, and most likely add others. Moreover, the system of newsboys made the publication of extra editions with late-arriving news an alluring prospect for proprietors wishing to increase sales.

These incentives, coupled with the prevailing fascination with speed and appreciation of a good race, drove editors to invest enormous enterprise, creativity and fortune in efforts to speed the news. Even earlier, in the late 1820s and the early 1830s, newspapers demonstrated outstanding effort to marshal new means and improved procedures of transportation to beat standard time distances between news centers set by the United States mail. Competing newspapers and coalitions of editors focused their most vigorous efforts on arranging for the fastest combination of vehicles and routes, and making them available for expediting the news immediately on receipt. Pony expresses vied with railroad expresses, sleighs with steamboats, and carrier pigeons with optical telegraphs as the newspaper-reading public seemed to cheer on the editors. Ingenious combinations of these timesavers were used by individual editors and newspaper associations established for this purpose, along a variety of routes.

Time and space were shrinking as editors spent fortunes to speed news transmission. The *New York Journal of Commerce* paid some $30,000 for its news expresses in two years of intense competition with the *Courier and Enquirer*, early in the period. Outlays to the tune of $500, then $1,000 for expressing single news items, even the expense of a schooner for a special trans-Atlantic voyage in the service of an association of enterprising dailies, were deemed well-spent for the glory of a news

beat.[30] At one point, James Gordon Bennett contracted to pay an enterprising news vendor $500 for each hour during which the news he sent the *Herald* remained exclusive. This hourly sum equaled the proceeds of the sale of 25,000 copies of the *Herald* at the going price of two cents.[31]

The earliest demonstrations of the practicability of Morse's telegraph involved, as noted above, the transmission of news items between Baltimore and Washington.[32] It was probably not long before the country's leading editors realized that with the spreading of the telegraph the transportation extravaganza would effectively be over. The telegraph was as good as the standard contemporary cliché describing its operation, it indeed annihilated time and space in the transmission of information.

With the telegraph in operation there were no longer any faster vehicles to employ, shorter routes to be found or corners to be cut in the contest to speed the news. The telegraph reduced the time required for transmitting signals to the ultimate minimum, and competition by means of transportation was doomed. Thus, by May 1846, as the Boston-New York telegraph line was nearing completion, the *New York Herald* bade a formal farewell to the news contest by means of transportation. Its news express had just beaten the combined effort by other leading metropolitan dailies in delivering the *Cambria*'s news to New York. This express from Boston, editorialized the *Herald*, "will probably be the last express of the kind which will ever run between the two cities . . ." "*Vale, vale, longum vale!*" saluted the *Herald* in conclusion.[33]

Nothing could compete with the telegraph for speed, nor could separate messages compete along the wire. The telegraph delivered a single signal at a time, and messages comprising sequences of signals were time-ordered. Unlike the mail bag or the express rider who could carry many copies or versions of a complete item simultaneously, telegraphic messages were transmitted word-by-word, individually, and each in turn. Only one message could prevail at any given time.

At first glance, this implication of telegraphy was not necessarily a detriment to competition, albeit of a modified nature. Newspapers could still compete by means of transportation over gaps to, from and between telegraph segments to be first to receive the news. Indeed, they continued to compete until 1846, when telegraphic connections were completed between New York and the major out-of-town news centers.

Once these centers—Washington, D.C., (seat of the federal government and terminus of the Southern mail) Boston (the landing point of the all-important foreign news) and Albany (the primary source of New York's government news)—were linked with New York, the point of competition narrowed down to the short distance between news source and telegraph office. And there would be a special premium on the dash

to the telegraph office. Since messages monopolized the channel, the winner of the race would now take all.

While there were some thrilling contests down the stretch from legislative chambers or news-laden steamers to the nearest telegraph office, the disproportion between the limited nature of the contest and the great reward for winning it made it all rather ludicrous. And all the more so when news agents, anticipating important news, could establish priority by monopolizing wires for hours on end when important news was expected, then send Bible chapters as an addendum to their news messages to extend the period in which the news they sent was exclusive at its destination.

On most telegraph lines, even this little niche for individual enterprise was closed down early on. The universal ground rule of telegraphy, first-come first-served, was soon modified by the "15-minute rule." This rule, adopted by most extension lines on inauguration of their service or shortly thereafter, stipulated that no customer could use the wire for more than 15 minutes at a time when another customer was waiting.[34] Given the slim margins in the short races from the news source to the local telegraph office, and the minimal quantity of information that could be transmitted within 15 minutes of telegraphy in the 1840s,[35] the rule tended to equalize all competitors. It implied that the closer the competition and the more the competitors, the slower would be the completion of transmitting reports for all. As the *Herald*'s William Shanks put it, the 15-minute rule "placed all the papers on a par; the slow ones having an equal chance with the enterprising ones." Hence, acknowledged Shanks, it "virtually put a stop to news enterprise."[36] Rather than a win-lose situation, news competition by telegraph was a lose-lose situation due to the exclusiveness of signals in its process.

The circumstances for establishing the associated press arrangement on the New York-Boston line underscored the significance of the 15-minute rule. When a steamer was expected, the *Sun*'s Moses S. Beach recalled, representatives of the papers waited "night and day" in the offices of the telegraph company to establish priority. Yet they shortly realized that for their "15 minutes' turn" at the wire, each representative in his turn was merely transmitting a duplicate of a common digest of European news. The representatives decided, therefore, to take turns in performing the service as a joint effort. Shortly, they arranged for agents in Boston and New York to act on their behalf, thus expanding the erstwhile associated press arrangement on the Washington-New York line.[37]

Cooperation between dailies was not unheard of in the days of the pre-telegraphic race for news. Cooperation then, however, was among *ad-hoc* coalitions of newspapers which vied with each other for news beats.

The enormous cost of news expresses, fleets of news boats and the like was a compelling incentive for newspapers to pool their resources and compete in association. Cooperation in telegraphic newsgathering does not appear to have been induced by financial considerations. True enough, telegraphing news cost more than using the mails, especially since the latter option was free. From Colonial times it had been postal policy to allow editors to exchange their newspapers and news slips free of charge.[38] And whatever the cost of telegraphing dispatches, it could be reduced by sharing the bill. Indeed, it has often been proposed that newspapers were moved to cooperate in order to share the high costs of telegraphic news transmission.[39] Yet the proper standard for evaluating the cost of telegraphy to the press was not the in-gathering of "slow news" via the editorial exchanges, but the quest for "fast news" by express systems.

Telegraphy was a bargain. Ten hours, or a full day's workload of exclusive transmission on the Baltimore-Washington line in 1846, would have cost a newspaper a mere $33.34.[40] The tolls were proportionately higher on other, longer lines, yet telegraphy still was very cheap compared with the costs of expressing news by special relays. After all, occupying the entire transmission potential of all telegraph lines in 1846 America, for a year, would have cost the press about $50,000.[41]

Obviously, tolls were not what forced New York dailies into cooperation. It was the dramatic disproportion between speed and volume in telegraphic technology and the limited capacity of the early lines that did the trick.[42] Morse had to scrap his early idea of using the telegraph as a "means of correspondence, in one instant"[43] once the telegraph began connecting major cities. The press, in turn, found that it had to abandon the tradition of competition when it came to speeding news between those cities by means of the telegraph.

From Telegraph Network to News Net: The Transformation of 1848

The 1846 advent of telegraph lines to America's largest city marked the takeoff of the entire industry. Each region and every hamlet in America seemed to seek a connection to the great new "highway of thought." Herds of entrepreneurs and investors went on to spread webs of poles and wire over vast hinterlands, adding ever more feeder lines to the main and secondary trunks. New systems of facsimile and printing telegraphs were established to compete with the Morse system, expanding the scope of telegraph access. Telegraph wire-miles mushroomed from 1,815 in September 1846 to 10,200 by the end of 1848. Viewed from the perspective of the telegraph industry, this "methodless enthusiasm," however initially gratifying, spelled problems. Competing systems and

antagonistic telegraph lords often exercised a policy of non-intercourse with rivals, dividing the industry against itself, and injecting uncertainty about the future of the enterprise as a coherent, smooth-operating whole.[44]

From the journalistic standpoint, the expansion and thickening of the web of wires, and the focus of that expansion on New York, represented a tremendous prospect. It also provided a radically altered vision of newsgathering. Editors realized the telegraph was coming to "embrace in its sensitive *net work* the whole immense and important section of the country" from Harrisburg to Boston and from Buffalo to Washington.[45] From the perspective of the editor, an America crisscrossed by telegraph lines would look much like a news net of national scope, with New York positioned as its "one grand center."

If point-to-point telegraphy dictated cooperation rather than competition in news transmission, the vision of the telegraph as a news-net implied a transformation of the concept of newsgathering itself. Before the news revolution of the 1820s and 1830s, most primary newsgathering was local. Editors covered news events occurring in their own vicinity, and were supplied with out-of-town news by editorial exchanges with distant newspapers reporting news from their respective regions. The flow of news across the country reflected the accumulation of exchange agreements between editors, and its temporal structure was ultimately regulated by postal timetables. On the basis of this stable flow, enterprising journalists in Jacksonian America began expressing news from points of particular interest, then gradually replaced their expresses with telegraphic transmission.

The development of telegraph lines into a "sensitive net work" by 1848 presented the prospect of transforming the backbone of national newsgathering from postal exchanges to telegraphic transmissions, at least when it came to breaking news. This would represent a radical departure: newspapers could enter the business of reporting distant news events rather than publishing distant news reports. Given the continuous operation of the telegraph, editors could now actively collect, from all over the country and throughout the day, crude primary news as it was breaking. Newsgathering by telegraph could thus become a dynamic process, requiring the active, continuous control of a widespread network of reporters, through a system of complex communication machines.

But managing the flow of a continuous stream of news from all over the country in real-time was an effort well beyond the organizational capabilities of even the largest, best managed metropolitan daily. Members of the NYAP could respond to this challenge either by forming a defensive alliance and mutually avoiding the formation of a real-time tele-

graphic news gathering network, or by meeting the challenge in a cooperative effort. In any event, an agreement by the leading dailies to common action was truly necessary, perhaps inevitable. It was probably also inevitable that the New York Associated Press would ultimately pick up the gauntlet.

It would take a couple of years for the members of the NYAP to fully grasp, digest and respond to the implications of networking—the convergence of telegraph lines from all over the country on their city. Gradually, they learned how to employ that network as a backbone providing a continuous flow of news. The fruits of this education were realized in a reform of NYAP arrangements in the spring and summer of 1848, representing the second phase in the emergence of the NYAP. The reform represented a significant development on the institutional level, endowing the NYAP with a new, coherent identity, strategically positioned between the telegraph system and the leading New York dailies. Accordingly, it even altered the meaning of the Associated Press concept. If previously "NYAP" connoted the newspapers associated in their telegraphic transmission arrangements, after the reform it came to refer both to the associates and to the newsgathering organization they controlled in common; usage gradually changed from the plural to the singular.[46]

The essence of the reform was the transfer of responsibility for national and international telegraphic newsgathering from the member-newspapers to the common newsgathering framework they had in operation since the middle of 1846. Formerly the NYAP served the member dailies in gathering and transmitting European news from Boston, government news from the national and state capitals, and in the course of the Mexican War, military and general news from the South. Now the associates would receive all non-local news transmitted by telegraph from the association. This feat was accomplished with relative ease. The NYAP simply engaged Dr. Alexander Jones, one of the first telegraphic newsgatherers, who had established a network of out-of-town telegraphic news reporters, to manage a similar operation on its behalf. The newspapers, rather than individually outsourcing their gathering of telegraphic news, would now operate a national newsgathering enterprise as part of the NYAP framework, in-house.[47]

A secondary element of the 1848 reform was the inauguration of cooperative marine operations by the NYAP in the service of newsgathering from abroad, in the spring of 1848.[48] The NYAP also refined its arrangements for the telegraphic transmission of European news reaching Boston harbor. The associates appointed representatives to correspond with F.O.J. Smith and negotiate a revision of their existing

procedures for transmitting steamer news over his line and reach a more stable, long-term agreement. The association may also have revamped its Washington news arrangements at the same period.[49]

In the process of reforming the NYAP's pre-existing telegraphic arrangements, it became necessary to streamline the internal operations of the association. Committees were established to oversee daily operations and they were given power to negotiate and act for the association. In the course of this reorganization, the New York *Tribune* was brought closer to the NYAP.[50] Shortly, however, the scope of NYAP's auxiliary marine operations was drastically diminished.[51] With telegraph lines pushing northeastward past Portland on their way to Halifax, where the foreign news first landed, there was not much point to extensive news gathering by sea. The core of the association's operations — news gathering by telegraph — continued to increase between 1848 and 1851 in parallel to the expansion of the American telegraph network.

The venturing of the NYAP into the field of ship news demonstrated how radically the telegraph had transformed the practice of news gathering, and to an extent even the role of the newspaper. The speeding of the foreign news to New York had traditionally been a focal point in the aggressive contest between New York's dailies for news supremacy. Joint gathering of European news by the NYAP highlighted the complete victory of cooperation over the tradition of competition in newsgathering. But moreover, it implied that it was no longer the newspaper's task to gather crude, primary news — the daily no longer served as the basic unit of newsgathering.

In a sense, James Gordon Bennett's prediction of the demise of the newspaper as a "circulator of intelligence," or newsgathering entity, was in many ways verified. That responsibility was transferred to the NYAP. The point of competition between the member-newspapers shifted to strategies of presenting news, to local news coverage, to in-depth reporting, and to editorial opinion. As the *Alexandria Gazette* explained, in line with Bennett's prediction, the telegraph ensured the public would be "furnished promptly with the great events of the day." The powerful new technology thus relegated the press to the role of "examining causes, tracing effects, enlightening the judgements and directing the reflections of men."[52] Telegraphic newsgathering after the 1848 reform became the exclusive domain of the NYAP.

Discovering News Broadcast: The Transformation of 1851

The telegraph's power to transmit information instantaneously from distant cities to New York brought about the formation of the NYAP in 1846. Then, the spreading of telegraphs over vast territories gave rise to

the vision of a New York-centered news web, with the NYAP located, spider-like, at its center and serving as a clearinghouse for telegraphic news from all over the country. That had been the rationale for the NYAP's 1848 transformation into the national and international newsgathering arm of its member newspapers. The potential of American telegraphy to perform as an integrated national circuit set the stage for a thoroughgoing transformation of the NYAP in 1851.[53]

Contemporaries were quick to grasp the technological meaning of the telegraphic circuit, but slow in realizing its momentous implications. As early as June 1846 the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* explained to its readers:

> that it appears by experiments . . . that intelligence may be communicated by the magnetic telegraph at as many different points as is desired at the same moment, merely by placing a battery at the several places. News may be jotted down at Utica, Syracuse, Auburn, Rochester, &c. [at] the same instant without disconnecting the wire. [54]

Indeed, telegraph lines, even as they stretched beyond their first two termini, and then as they added feeder lines, remained circuits. When the early lines expanded into networks, the system they applied for network management was based on this default. As noted, message traffic could be regulated simply by giving each station a turn to send all its accumulated messages to all other stations on the circuit. In theory, once the country's main lines converged on New York, they could all be connected, forming together one comprehensive, unified national circuit. If proper arrangements were made, one message could reach all stations on the entire American telegraph network simultaneously, in one writing.

From the journalistic perspective, this concept of telegraphy had little congruity with patterns and models of newsgathering. But there was surely something familiar about it. It was consonant with the model at the other end of the editorial funnel — the dissemination of a uniform information product to the masses. A telegraph system sending a single message to all points over an integrated circuit instantaneously would function like the sun that shined for all — the motto of Beach's *New York Sun*. What presented itself was an idea and a term that would have outstanding consequences: broadcast.

By connecting extensive networks, a single telegraphic message could be "scattered broadcast" all over the land.[55] Unlike subsequent broadcast technologies, however, this telegraphic news broadcast would remain a two-step process: by prearranging with telegraph companies to intercon-

nect their circuits when transmitting a news dispatch, a single news report would reach all telegraph stations located on the network in a single transmission. In each of these stations the operator would take down the dispatch on recently developed high quality "manifold" paper (the 19th century equivalent of carbon paper), producing as many simultaneous copies as there were local newspapers to serve. Then the newspaper would take over and bring the broadcast news before the large public at each receiving point.

To members of the NYAP the idea of venturing into the business of vending news reports nationally had much to recommend it. In the years before the advent of the telegraph, the New York press sold perhaps as much as half its copies outside city limits.[56] Through the mails, subscribers in the periphery could receive a metropolitan daily at the same time as their local editors, and thus could read important national news before the local sheets appeared with the same news items cut out, pasted and printed. The telegraph altered the position of the country press *vis a vis* the metropolitan dailies. The former could now publish information received by telegraph from news centers long before the mails carrying metropolitan newspapers arrived.[57] Once the New York papers could no longer lure out-of-town subscribers with timely news, they could at least make money by selling the telegraphic reports that had put them out of the retail market in the first place.

While in theory a sound proposition, large scale distribution of telegraphic news was hardly realistic given the troubled state of early American telegraphy. Half-built regional systems and isolated lines dominated the industry. Moreover, jealous competition between independent telegraph proprietors, small companies, and isolated lines made arrangements for large scale diffusion of news reports from a single source practically impossible. By the early 1850s, however, as the web of lines was thickening, the telegraph entered into its "era of consolidation," and some order began to emerge from the prevailing chaos in the industry. Even the most antagonistic of the telegraph's pioneers realized that smooth interconnections between regional networks was indispensable for the success of their own lines, let alone the prosperity of the entire industry.[58] The New York Associated Press would prove a dominant force in prodding the industry in the direction of integration, and ultimately of consolidation.

Indeed, in 1851 the NYAP reorganized, entering its third phase of institution formation, and began pushing into the field of telegraphic news vending in earnest. By launching an extensive news vending operation, the NYAP transformed itself from America's largest consumer of telegraphic news to the primary supplier of telegraphic news to the press

of the entire nation. As late as November 1847, NYAP member newspapers still had to take the initiative in arranging for telegraphic reports of non-routine national events. By 1851, the association provided not only its members but the American press as a whole with a comprehensive daily summary of national news.[59]

The reorientation of the wire service on these lines coincided with a change in the association's management. In May 1851, Alexander Jones officially stepped down from his position as the NYAP agent and was replaced by Daniel H. Craig, the association's Halifax agent, who had been in charge of steamer newsgathering and transmission. Ambitious, creative, and competent, albeit occasionally controversial, Craig appears to have engineered the transformation of the NYAP. He subsequently claimed credit for "absolutely creating all of any real value in the machinery of the Association, and building it up from a position . . . of the most contemptible character."[60] He added that "whatever system, energy or excellence has been apparent in the management of the Associated Press . . . has, in the main, been inspired by my own brains, and consummated under my own directions."[61] Frederick Hudson questioned some of Craig's claims and considered him merely "a faithful worker" whose role was to "assist in arranging the details and carrying out the news plans of the Association now [1851] rapidly increasing, and becoming huge and comprehensive . . ."[62] But in analyzing the fragments of NYAP history that have survived, Craig's claim to have led the association's operations "with but trifling supervision of the Executive Committee," emerges as more reliable.[63]

Daniel H. Craig and the Reinvention of Telegraphy

Craig brought to his position as the NYAP general agent his considerable experience as the leader of the association's foreign news operations.[64] His responsibilities in that role were broadly construed. Besides attending the technicalities of steamer newsgathering, it was up to him to negotiate policy issues pertaining to this sensitive species of news with the Nova Scotia authorities as well as to devise the strategy for its telegraphic transmission to New York. Through maneuvering in both these fields, Craig appears to have gathered important insights that would serve as basic elements for the new departure in NYAP policy.

Indeed, Craig became aware of the great potential of selling the association's news as far from the nation's great news markets as Halifax. The Nova Scotia telegraph, representing the gateway for European news reaching the New World aboard Cunard's steamers, was the one government-owned line operating in North America. Provincial authorities took the public responsibilities that went with telegraph ownership quite

seriously. They realized the vast advantages deriving from the privilege of uninterrupted transmission upon the arrival of steamers, as well as its potential abuses. The NYAP demanded that privilege. Confronted as they were with savage competition over first access to their telegraph line, Nova Scotia's leaders declined to grant the NYAP the outright monopoly it demanded. Yet the NYAP was the line's richest, most reliable, and most powerful patron. Its interests would have to be accommodated.

The Nova Scotia House of Assembly finally granted the NYAP the privilege of uninterrupted transmission upon the arrival of steamers, with two conditions. One was that the NYAP members publicize the key European market quotations on bulletin boards immediately upon receipt. This was to prevent speculation in unsuspecting markets during the period between receipt of the dispatches in New York and the distribution of newspapers containing the news. The other condition was that the NYAP supply the steamer reports to any newspaper wanting them in consideration of a fair share of the newsgathering expenses. The NYAP had no choice but to agree to this condition, and consequently Craig was forced into news vending on behalf of the association.[65]

Even after winning the support of the Nova Scotia telegraph, Craig found that transmitting the steamer dispatches to New York was quite an ordeal. He had to send the news all the way from Nova Scotia to New York, over lines of no less than five independent telegraph companies, and then distribute the reports to other customers further afield. He thus gained a keen understanding of the difficulties of operating the independently owned lines as a comprehensive circuit. Craig ultimately succeeded in the task of streamlining message transit, armed as he was with the leverage of the telegraph's single largest customer. Craig and the NYAP marshaled the enormous patronage they controlled, as intermediaries between the press and the telegraph, to foster coordination between separately owned lines, and ultimately forced them to work as a coherent system.[66]

Assuming his New York position, Craig found the foreign news was the only item the NYAP sold to newspapers outside the association, and moreover, that the association's domestic newsgathering was a "rickety, disjointed, affair" managed "without system, head or heart."[67] By May 1851 Craig had sounded out editors and telegraphers throughout the country and was ready to unveil his program for the transformation of the NYAP.[68]

In essence, Craig's purpose was "to bring all of the leading Presses of the country into one general telegraphic news scheme, whereby all shall contribute . . . to the expense and trouble of collecting and transmitting, from one end of the Union to the other, all important news." Systematiz-

ing the distribution of a single report to many individual newspapers was only one aspect of how an integrated telegraph network, together with better management and organization, could help quench the nation's thirst for news. This structure for systematic news distribution ultimately gave the NYAP its answer to the challenge of organizing a comprehensive and effective newsgathering effort. Following the best traditions of the newspaper exchanges in real time, the network of NYAP clients could supply the association with reports of news breaking in their own environs, together creating a potentially wide news net.

Thus, the client newspapers would not only foot the bill for an extensive wire service; they also would constitute an important element in the process of newsgathering. Outside the main news centers where the NYAP employed agents, the system was based on "reciprocal connections with editors and publishers, through whom we may receive reliable information in regard to every local event of interest to the public at large." The role of the NYAP itself in such a set-up would assume a new significance. Located at the central intersection of the nation's news flow, it would process the national and international input of news and prepare a uniform output. Exercising this funnel-like function, it would become the great coordinator, processor, and supplier of news to the nation's press and public.

To make the arrangement work, Craig realized he would require the cooperation of the numerous telegraph companies. He believed, however, "that telegraph Companies, no less than Publishers of Newspapers throughout the country, will consult their best interests by making an united and vigorous effort, in conjunction with the New York Associated Press, to bring about an entire reform," a reform intended to bring about "a better organized system."[69] Before long Craig brought this point home to telegraph leaders. He engineered, in cooperation with a powerful group on New York capitalists and entrepreneurs, the consolidation of the eastern seaboard lines of telegraph into the American Telegraph Company.[70]

Through a reformed telegraph industry and a transformed NYAP, Craig ultimately reached his new goals. "Within less than four years from the day I assumed the management in this city [1851]," Craig later reminisced, "every daily journal in the country had applied for admission to our Association . . . whilst the revenue from all outside sources has increased from about $5,000 to $75,000 per annum, for general news, and at the rate of over $100,000 per annum in addition . . . for European news."[71] By 1856 the American Telegraph Company, masterminded by Craig and strategically aligned with the NYAP, emerged as a monopoly in control of eastern telegraphy.

By 1856, the NYAP was what Craig considered "one of the most powerful close corporations in the land."[72] Put differently, the NYAP was probably the first private sector national monopoly in the United States. By the standard of the rhetoric of the age of Jackson this perhaps was not a favorable distinction, but it did represent a landmark in the development of American enterprise. For not only did a national wire service herald the age of business organizations and institutions operating on a national scale, it also facilitated their emergence in other spheres of American life.[73]

It was a new powerful technology, through its particular capacity for networking that made this breakthrough possible. The demand for, and relevance of, uniform information in a rapidly nationalizing society provided the incentive for attempting it. The NYAP, however, was the player that uncovered, and then realized, the potential of the technology to operate as a national system. Together, the technological potential, the social foundations plotting the information environment, and an imaginative business enterprise fused to mark a watershed in the development of American technology and American media.

NYAP's discovery of the concept of broadcast brought Morse's initial ambiguity about the ultimate shape of American telegraphy to a temporary resolution. In the first few years of telegraphy the press was influential in the ascendance of the allocution model of telegraphy over the interactive model. The NYAP, in turn, made Morse's ultimate vision of the allocution model — that of the telegraph radiating a single message throughout the land, as a town crier would inform a neighborhood—a workaday reality. A mere decade later, this essentially religious vision of God's word uniting multitudes into an organic entity would assume a new dimension with cable telegraphy uniting continents. Within one additional decade the telegraph would begin developing itself in the reverse, back to the interactive model, with the diffusion of printing telegraphs operating over private lines and switched networks, developments which would underpin the emergence of telephony. Within a mere half century dots and dashes would traverse the air with Marconi's invention of radio; and in a reenactment of Craig's discovery, insightful entrepreneurs would transform wireless telegraphy into radio broadcast.

This demonstration of how technology, when applied to knowledge, can effect change probably transcended the most "wild conjectures" of James Gordon Bennett and his contemporaries. The "mighty results" of telegraph broadcast could not be anticipated by the NYAP's 1846 originators, and probably went far beyond the most frisky expectations of its 1848 and 1851 reformers. Yet it was these newspaper editors and wire

service managers who brought it about. Journalism, a central social institution, had discovered, then pioneered in applying, the full potential of a technology that would revolutionize their society. That technology, in turn, as promoted and shaped by journalism, brought about some of the most decisive "revolutions and changes" in the history of journalism.

Endnotes

[1]Quoted in: A Journalist [Isaac C. Pray], *Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and his Times* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), p. 364, italics mine; and cf. *Alexandria Gazette*, quoted in the *Philadelphia North American*, undated clipping, Journalistic Series, vol. 1, Henry O'Rielly Telegraph Collection.

[2]Early on, the expression "New York associated press" was commonly used to designate the group of six individual New York newspapers which engaged in cooperative telegraphic news gathering. Gradually, it began to connote not only the newspapers but also the common framework they organized. Ultimately the concept of the NYAP was stretched to include also the news-receiving clients of the associates and its joint news gathering and vending operation. Yet NYAP was not a proper or official name, and it was used interchangeably with other designations such as the associated newspapers, the New York press, the associated press, and the associated press of New York. See e.g. the usage in correspondence spanning 1848-1850 appended to Francis O. J. Smith, *An Exposition of the Differences Existing Between Different Presses and Different Lines of Telegraph, Respecting the Transmission of Foreign News, Being A Letter and Accompanying Documents, Addressed to the Government Commissioners of the Nova Scotia Telegraph*, pamphlet [Boston: 1850], pp. 13-46). As late as 1856 the association entitled itself the "General News Association of the City of New York;" see: General News Association of the City of New York, *Rules* (New York: 1874), copy in the William Henry Smith papers, Indiana Historical Society. In what follows, "NYAP" and "AP" will be used in a loose sense, to designate both the founding newspapers as a group and the organization which they formed.

[3]The New York State Associated Press predated the NYAP, yet it never transcended its regional role, and remained of minor consequence. Simon N. D. North, *The Newspaper and Periodical Press: A Special Report for the Tenth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), pp. 106-107; Alfred M. Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), pp. 495-96; Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 251; Richard A. Schwarzlose, "The Nation's First Wire Service: Evidence Supporting a Footnote," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1980): 555-62; id., *The Nation's Newsbrokers*, vol. 1: *The Formative Years: From Pretelegraph to 1865*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1989), pp. 58-64.

[4]The usage is based on Brian Winston, *Misunderstanding Media* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 16-17. The application of telegraphy to the management of railroad operations developed relatively late in the US (e.g. Minot to Smith, Francis O. J. Smith papers, NYPL). Secondary works such as Winston's which consider the railroads as the telegraph's surpervening necessity appear to reflect the British experience.

[5]Michael Schudson's argument as to this discovery remains highly influential: *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Menahem Blondheim, *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America*, 1844-1897 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 11-29, isolates the speed of news as the essential departure.

[6]U.S. Congress, House. *Telegraphs for the United States*, H. Doc. 15, 25th Congr., 2nd sess.,1837; U.S. Congress, House, *Electro Magnetic Telegraphs*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 753, 1838, Appendix C; U.S. Congress, House, Electro-Magnetic Telegraph, H. Ex. Doc. 270, 28th Cong., 1st sess., 1844, p. 2. Menahem Blondheim, "When Bad Things Happen to Good Technologies," in: *Technology, Pessimism, and Postmodernism*, eds. Y. Ezrahi et at., Sociology of the Sciences Yearbook, vol. 17, 1994, pp. 77-93.

[7]U.S. Congress, House, *Electro-Magnetic Telegraph*, H. Ex. Eoc. 270, 28th Congress, 1st sess., 1844.

[8]Morse's devoutness and the religious inspiration of his telegraph activities dominate his writing and his correspondence, most explicitly in his correspondence with his broter Sidney. See, e.g. S.F.B. Morse to Sidney Morse, September 1843, Morse papers, New York Historical Society; 30 May 1844, Morse papers, Library of Congress; See also Samuel Irenaeus *The Life of Samuel F.B. Morse* (New York: D. Appleton, 1875); Robert C. Rankin to Samuel Irenaeus Prime, quoted in James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America and Morse Memorial* (New York: John Putnam, 1886), p. 90.

[9]The message Morse chose for demonstrating the operations of an early prototype of the telegraph, on 24 January 1838, was: "Attention, the Universe, by Kingdoms, right wheel!" [Donald McNicol,] "'What Hath God Wrought!" *Telegraph and Telephone Age*, 37:10 (16 May 1919); also reproduced as Donald McNicol, "'What Hath God Wrought,'" *Telegraph and Telephone Age*, May 1944.

[10]Jewish and Christians homiletic traditions concerning this verse (*Numbers*, xxiii, 23) are at great variance. The fundamental problems are whether to read the second clause of the verse in the active ("said to," as in the Septuagint) or passive ("said of"); and in the present or in the future tense. The story of Annie Ellsworth selecting the verse is widely considered apocryphal: see e.g. Carlton Mabee, *The American Leonardo: The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), p. 260; Alvin Harlow, *Old Wires and New Waves : The History of Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 86; and unpublished paper by Richard R. John, Jr., "A Failure of Vision? The Jacksonians, the Post Office and the Telegraph, 1844-1847." However, S.F.B. Morse to Sidney Morse, 30 May 1944, Morse papers, Library of Congress, would appear to confirm the attribution of the message to Annie Ellsworth. A possible interpretation is that Morse selected the verse and Annie Ellsworth wrote it out prior to transmission.

[11]U.S. Congress, House, *Electro-Magnetic Telegraphs*, 25th Cong., 2d sess, H. Report 753, 1838, Appendix C.

[12]For discussions of the ideological context of the telegraph see Perry Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1965); Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), chap. 1; James W. Carey, "Technology and Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph," in: *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[13]Unidentified newspaper clipping, reel 9, Morse papers, Library of Congress.

[14]*New York Express*, quoted in the *Philadelphia North American*, 11 June 1846.

[15]*New York Weekly Herald*, 7 June 1844.

[16]Examples of these reports are conveniently located in the Morse Scrapbooks, Morse papers, Library of Congress (Microfilm, reel 33).

[17]*Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 11 June 1846.

[18]Blondheim, *News over the Wires*, pp. 35-36.

[19]Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, pp. 304-309. Morse wrote his brother Sidney that on the first day of its operations the line grossed $120 and in its first four days $546. S.F.B. Morse to Sidney Morse, 13 September and [?] September, 1846, Morse papers, Library of Congress.

[20]Richard Du Boff, "The Telegraph and the Structure of Markets in the United States, 1845-1975," *Research in Economic History* 8 (1983): 253-77; id., "The Telegraph in 19th Century America: Technology and Monopoly," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 38 (1984): 571-86.

[21]The *Sun* claimed its circulation was 45,000, and that it was read by 200,000 persons in a city of 400,000. *New York Sun*, 28 April 1856; 1 May 1846. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the newspaper claimed that once the telegraph trunks to Boston and to Washington were completed, its sales increased dramatically: *New York Sun*, 24 June 1846. The *Public Ledger* claimed its circulation was 30,000: *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 6 June 1846.

[22]The dilemma is brought out in an interview Moses S. Beach gave the *New York World*, Suday Supplament, 20 January 1884.

[23]Contemporary journalist Frederic Hudson found it necessary to dedicate a full chapter of his 1873 history of American journalism to those of the duels between editors which he had not succeeded in crowding into the historical narrative. Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), chapter 55.

[24]The first proposition Beach made to his competitors was to cooperate in financing the special horse express his son, Moses Sperry, had arranged for expediting Mexican war news across the South by means of a horse express. Blondheim, *News over the Wires*, pp. 49-50.

[25]*New York True Sun*, 27 June, 29 June, 2 July, 4 July, 1846;

[26]*New York True Sun*, 4 July 1846.

[27]Amos Kendall to Thomas M. Clark, 25 June 1846, Amos Kendall papers, Library of Congress. Cf. A[mos] K[endall] to Alfred Vail [Sept. - Oct. 1846] Vail Telegraph Collection; The Magnetic Telegraph Company, *Proceedings* (1847), pp. 65-68; *Regulations of the Magnetic Telegraph Company: Unalterable Rules*, p. 15.

[28]Blondheim, *News over the Wires*, pp. 53-54.

[29]First quote: *New York Express*, 2 July 1846; second quote: *New York True Sun*, 4 July 1846.

[30]The chartering of the *William J. Romer* by a combination of New York and Philadelphia editors is an outstanding example. See, e.g. *Philadelphia North American*, 13 April 1846.

[31]Joseph P. Thompson, *Memoir of David Hale* (Hartford: E. Hunt, 1850), pp. 46-59; William H. Hallock, *Life of Gerard Hallock* (New York: Oakley, Mason & Co., 1869); Hudson, *Journalism in America*, p. 346; Frank M. O'brien, *The Story of 'The Sun'* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1928), p. 82; James Parton, *Life of Horace Greeley* (Boston: 1872), p. 208; *The Boston Herald and its History* (Boston: 1878), p. 6.

[32]Alfred Vail's Telegraph Journal, 25-29 May 1844, Alfred Vail Telegraph Collection, Record Unit 7055, Smithsonian Institution Archives; John W. Kirk, "Historic Moments: The First News Message By Telegraph," *Scribner's Magazine* (May 1892): 652-56.

[33]*New York Herald*, 7 May 1846.

[34]The Magnetic Telegraph Company, *Minutes*, pp. 4,12,16; and cf. *Articles of association of the New York and Boston Magnetic Telegraph Association, Together with the Office Regulations, Records of the Meetings of the Trustees, Stockholders, and Directors* (New York: Chatterton & Christ, 1848), p. 24; and Atlantic Lake and Mississippi Telegraph Company, *Regulations*, broadside in the O'Rielly Telegraph Collection, New York Historical Society. This broadside, apparently dating to December 1845, described by O'Rielly as "the first publication of Regulations for any telegraph line in America" was the first application of the 15 minute rule I found. A vivid example of how the 15-minute rule effected the nature of news reports is a report from Baltimore to the *Philadelphia North American*, 26 June 1846.

[35]For estimates of transmission capacities in 1846 see Menahem Blondheim, "The News Frontier: Control and Management of America's News in the Age of the Telegraph," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1989), p. 421 note 2.

[36]William F.S. Shanks, "How We Get Our News," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 34 (May 1867), pp. 514-15.

[37]*New York World*, 20 January 1884.

[38]Comprehensive treatments of this phase of news gathering may be found in Richard B. Kielbowicz, *News in the Mails: The Press, Post Office and Public Information* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989); and Richard R. John, *Spreading the News* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[39]A recent argument along these lines was provided by our contemporary AP in a curious accounts of its historical origins: "The News Cooperative Takes Shape," http://www.ap.org/anniversary/nhistory/first.html

[40]Alfred Vail to [Postmaster General] Cave Johnson, 26 November 1846. Vail Telegraph Collection.

[41]Blondheim, "The News Frontier," p. 420.

[42]For general statements of the problem of limited capacity see: Magnetic Telegraph Company, *Minutes*, p. 89; *Police Gazette* 30 May 1846; *Utica Daily Gazette*, 21 January 1847; *New York Herald*, 27 December 1848; Hudson, *Journalism in America*, p. 610.

[43]S.F.B. Morse to Sidney Morse, 7 May 1844, Morse papers, Library of Congress.

[44]The best summary of these developments remains Robert L. Thompson, *Wiring a Continent: The History of the Telegraph in the United States*, 1832-1866 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), chap. 15.

[45]Italics mine, *Philadelphia North American*, 25 June 1846. For a similar, and earlier, use of the term network in a similar context see *New York Weekly Herald*, 7 June 1844.

[46]For illustrations of the change in usage see note 2 above.

[47]Blondheim, "The News Frontier," pp. 430-432.

[48]First, the associated newspapers chartered a steamer, the *Buena Visa*, to speed foreign news from Halifax to Boston: Craig, Testimony, p. 1266; Reid, *Telegraph in America*, p. 363; Rosewater, *Cooperative News Gathering*, pp. 66-68; Thompson, *Wiring a Continent*, pp. 226-27; Blondheim, "The News Frontier," pp. 152-53, 175-76; Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, pp. 96-106; id., "Early Telegraphic News Dispatches;" cf. *New York Herald*, 25 January 1850. The *Buena Vista* left for Halifax on its first news ferrying mission on 2 May 1848: *Halifax Acadian Recorder*, 13 May 1848. Then, the *Naushon*, a steamer purchased jointly by the *Sun* and *Journal of Commerce* to intercept news from aboard New York bound vessels and speed them to the city, was made common property with the other NYAP members. The transfer of the *Naushon* (renamed *Newsboy*), was effected on 1 June 1848 by a contract establishing the Harbor New Association, an auxiliary association formed for joint ownership and management of the steamer and of the ancillary machinery for news gathering in the port of New York. See Blondheim, *News over the Wires*, pp. 63-65; William E. Huntziker also states that the Harbor News Association was established in May 1848, but provides no evidence or sources to support his claim: *The Popular Press, 1833-1865*, The History of American Journalism, James D. Stratt and Wm. David Sloan, series eds. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), p. 95.

[49]Correspondence quoted in Smith, *An Exposition*, pp. 27-29. Richard Schwarzlose has pointed out that these moves may have been occasioned by the increase in demand for early European news due to the political upheaval and revolutions sweeping Europe in 1848. Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Harbor News Association: The Formal Origin of the AP," *Journalism Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1968): 253-60 and id., *Nation's Newsbrokers*, pp. 96-106.

[50]The *Tribune* had not shared in the Mexican War news arrangement, nor initially, in the joint effort in Boston harbor, nor in the Harbor News Association. It did, however, join the other members in chartering the *Buena Vista* and in the new agreement with the Boston line: *New York Herald*, 25 January 1850.

[51]By the beginning of 1849 the *Buena Vista* went out of service, and the *Naushon* was thereafter sold. A second Harbor News Association was formed, on 11 January 1849, for structuring the miniscule marine operation the associates still had in common. Harbor News Association, Agreement, 11 January 1849, Beach family papers, and also in the Henry J. Raymond papers, New York Public Library; and the Manton Marble papers, Library of Congress. See Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Harbor News Association: The Formal Origin of the AP," *Journalism Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1968): 253-60.

[52]Quoted in the *Philadelphia North American*, undated clipping, Journalistic Series vol. 1, Henry O'Rielly Telegraph Collection, New York Historical Society.

[53]A formal written agreement apparently structured this transformation, however, it has not yet surfaced. The compiler of the NYAP *Rules* of 1874 stated in an appendix that "*The Association* in its present form, was organized in 1851 (date not given) when 'Rules and Regulations' were adopted under the following agreement." The compiler went on to quote the preamble to those rules and regulations, in which it was stated that the six parties "agreed... to associate for the purpose of collecting and receiving Telegraphic and other Intelligence..." The regulations agreed to were included in the NYAP minutes book, but it was noted therein that they were "superseded by amended regulations," those of 1856. General News Association of the City of New York, *Rules* (New York: 1874), copy in the William Henry Smith papers, Indiana Historical Society. This was probably the basis for Smith's dating of the NYAP to 1851 in his "The Press as a News-Gatherer," *Century Magazine* 42 (August 1891), p. 524.The agreement was apparently reached between May, when the new general manager presented his plan for reform of the association (see below), and 7 September, when the *New York Times*, which was not a party to the agreement, joined the NYAP.

[54]*Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 25 April 1846.

[55]*Albany Argus*, undated clipping, Henry O'Rielly Telegraph Collection, New York Historical Society.

[56]*New York Herald*, 18 May 1840; Horace Greeley quoted in Hudson, *Journalism in America*, p. 540; and see ibid., p. 437.

[57]See e.g. *South Bend Register*, 11 February 1848.

[58]For the best narrative account of these developments see Thompson, *Wiring a Continent.*

[59]On 13 November 1847 Henry Clay delivered an important speech relating to the Mexican situation in Lexington, Ky. The *Herald* scooped its New York competitors by having a report of the speech telegraphed to the city. Both Schwarzlose and Rosewater take this as proof that the NYAP did not yet exist at that time. There is, however, no reason to assume that the association prescribed the sharing of all telegraphic news reports before 1851, nor that it provided national news coverage from its beginnings. (*The Nation's Newsbrokers*, p. 95; *Cooperative News Gathering*, pp. 62-63.) Jones'

comment, that the transmission of Clay's speech was before "any regular association of the press was formed in New York" (*Historical Sketch*, p. 137) should similarly be construed to refer to a regular association for national news gathering.

[60]Daniel H. Craig, "To Editors," 9 November 1866 [printed circular], Manton Marble papers, Library of Congress.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Hudson, *Journalism in America*, pp. 612-13.

[63]Craig "To the Members of the New York Associated Press," November 1866 [printed circular], Manton Marble papers. The mere fact that Craig presented his version directly to the members of the NYAP, who were familiar with the record, supports its reliability.

[64]An extensive discussion of Craig and his activities is provided in Blondheim, *News over the Wires*, chaps. 4-6.

[65]Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, *Journal* (1850), pp. 466, 506, 523, 580, and appendix 83, pp. 246-52; and see Carr and Johnson to President and Directors of the Provincial Telegraph Lines, 20 November 1850, RG 1 vol. 442/88; Nova Scotia Telegraph Commissioners to Carr and Johnson, 27 December 1850, Nova Scotia Telegraph Correspondence, 1850-52, RG 31, series 120, vol. 19/10, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

[66]See Craig to Marshall Lefferts, 11 October 1850 and 5 December 1850; Lefferts to Craig, 26 October 1850, quoted in: Marshall Lefferts, *Address to the Stockholders of the New York and New England Telegraph Company* (New York: Snowden, January 1851).

[67]Craig, "To Editors," 9 November 1866.

[68]D. H. Craig, [Circular to Editors and Telegraph Managers] (New York: May 1851), Manton Marble papers, Library of Congress; and MG2, vol. 723, Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Blondheim, *News over the Wires*, pp. 101-29.

[71]Craig, "To the Members of the NYAP," November 1866 [printed circular].

[72]Craig, "To Editors," 9 November 1866.

[73]Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

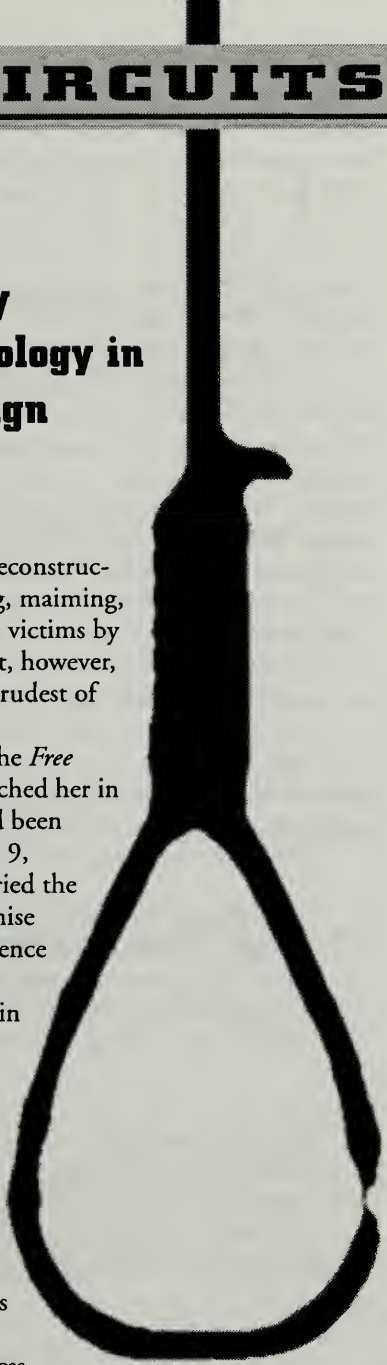
The Noose as an Early Communication Technology in the Anti-lynch Campaign

By Harry Amana
University of North Carolina

Lynch law in the U.S. post-reconstruction era allowed the beating, maiming, burning and shooting of its victims by savage mobs. Its most common element, however, was hanging, symbolized (still) by the crudest of technologies, the noose.

Ida B. Wells, co-owner/editor of the *Free Speech* was not quite 30 when word reached her in Mississippi that three of her friends had been lynched. Before this incident on March 9, 1892, Wells, like most people, had decried the heinous practice, but accepted the premise that it was a violent reaction to the violence of rape, primarily by black men against white women. But Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell and Lee Stewart were lynched for killing a white man during an altercation with a group of armed whites who approached Moss' store during the night, not for rape.

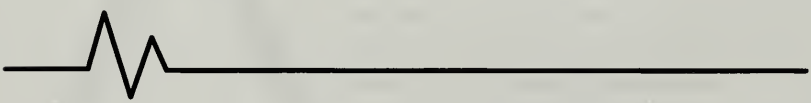
It was this anomaly that set Wells on a two-month investigation that culminated in the publication of the first of three investigative pamphlets in eight years and set the tone for the anti-lynching campaign of the black press.



Wells' investigations produced the journalistic classics: *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (1892), *A Red Record* (1895) and *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900). They contain her anecdotal and statistical documentation of everything she could find on the record – mostly from established, white-owned newspapers – but also from witnesses and people who knew the victims. "[T]he dark and bloody record of the South shows 728 . . . lynched during the past eight years," she wrote in *Southern Horrors*, "for all manner of accusations from that of rape . . . to the case of the boy...who was hanged at Tullahoma, Tenn., last year for being drunk and 'sassy' to white folks."

She showed that the overwhelming majority of lynched blacks were not even *accused* of rape or assault on white women. "Of the 171 persons lynched in 1895 only 34 were charged with this crime," she wrote in *Mob Rule*. In several instances, she noted in her pamphlets, the "crime" was the discovery of consensual relationships between black men and white women. The titles of three chapters in *A Red Record* illustrated other incongruities of lynch law: "Lynching Imbeciles," "Lynching of Innocent Men," and "Lynched for Anything or Nothing." Wells also noted that miscegenation history "written in the faces of the million mulattoes (sic) in the South" further illustrated the twisted psychology implicit in the rape accusation by white men against blacks.

The noose was, in part, a crude but potent communication technology. Wells' pamphlets, which included recommendations that Congress intervene and that blacks engage in economic boycotts, used her own muckraking journalism to combat it.



From Lemons to Lemonade: The Development of AP Wirephoto

By Jonathan Coopersmith

The Associated Press and AT&T introduced Wirephoto, the transmission of photographs by telephone, in January1935. For the first time, images could be transmitted as quickly as words. Accelerating a decades-long trend toward the increasing "picturization of news," this decision sparked great controversy over its cost and consequences for newspapers and journalism. The popularity of Wirephoto forced competing news services to develop their own systems.

> **It will be a merry war of dollars, speed, daring and technical ingenuity.**
>
> — Anthony North, June, 1934[1]

> **The old forms are breaking up and new ideas are coming in, and the big thing, until television comes and blows us all out of the water, is the development of that to us completely new technique of photography combined with newspaper stories.**
>
> — Malcolm W. Bingay, April, 1935[2]

Wirephoto — the transmission of photographs by telephone — was formally introduced by the Associated Press on January 1, 1935. Using the second generation of equipment built by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company (AT&T), Wirephoto emerged from a favorable conjunction between "the

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picture people" of journalism and promoters of a technology searching for a mission. This article will examine the creation of Wirephoto and the fiery controversy it created within the Associated Press (AP) and the newspaper industry. Wirephoto was far more than just the deployment of a new technology. To newspaper readers, Wirephoto was an ingenious way of providing them with photographs as timely as the latest news. To some newspapers, it was a revolutionary technology; for others, Wirephoto appeared a needless luxury that threatened to increase the cost of doing business. For the newspaper industry as a whole, it was a "potent economic force to accelerate the movement of taking the eye off the printed word and placing it upon the picture."[3]

For AT&T, its manufacturer, Wirephoto represented the successful creation of a niche market, a success made possible only after the failure of its larger, more general service. By focusing its efforts on a narrower, specific market — newspapers — AT&T was able to salvage some investment and gain prestige from a technologically impressive but financially disastrous program.

Newspapers, Illustration and Photography

The interest in wirephotos did not arise out of a vacuum, but reflected an intensification of the drive over several decades for increased imagery in newspapers. Illustrations had appeared in newspapers since the introduction of the *Illustrated London News* in 1842. The *London Daily Graphic* was the first daily illustrated paper in 1890, but not until 1904 did the *Daily Mirror* become the first newspaper illustrated by photography instead of drawings. The attraction of photography in a newspaper was that it provided "the first means whereby the man in the street came into direct visual contact with the world in which he lived. His horizon was lifted beyond his street, beyond his village and his native town, without the intervention of any visualizing artist."[4]

Limits imposed by camera technology meant pictures were posed, formal shots, often portraits. Improvements in photography — especially smaller cameras, faster films and flashbulbs — in the 1920s-'30s meant pictures could be less posed and more active. The concept of the "candid camera" entered circulation then, courtesy of Dr. Erich Salomon and the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. Pictures of individuals still appeared, but demand grew for pictures of events and action.

Photography, like any technology, was not without its drawbacks. One obvious problem from the perspective of the publisher was cost. Photographs demanded greater expenditures, including a photo department with its expensive equipment and photographers. Only 300 of the

over 2,100 American newspapers had their own photo departments in 1935.[5] One solution was the provision of photographs prepared for printing by news agencies.

More serious was the issue of whether photography degraded the quality of the newspaper. What did it mean to a newspaper and its reporters when, as one observer noted, many people preferred the ease of "'look pictures' or 'listen radio'" to the effort of reading an article.[6] Some journalists and others criticized the rise of photographs and "the picture people" with their "picturization of news stories" as detracting from good stories and lowering the tone and value of newspapers.[7] They were objecting, in the words of Hanno Hardt, to the "emergence of a visual culture that challenged the predominance of the printed word in public discourse."[8]

Despite these objections, newspapers kept increasing the presence of photography, reflecting its popularity with readers. New services and technologies both benefited from and accelerated this trend. International News Photos was established in 1910, Wide World Photos in 1919, and Acme Newspictures in 1924. In 1928, AP created its News Photo Service to supply its subscribers with press-ready matted photographs.[9] The 1930s also saw the establishment of the picture magazines, such as the American *Life* (1936) and British *Picture Post* (1938).

Wirephoto Offered Speed

Since the 1850s, words could travel at the speed of a telegraph message, enabling newspapers to print news just hours after it happened. Imagery, however, could only travel at the speed of its physical carrier — train, airplane or boat. This lag between the arrival by telegraph of a distant story and its accompanying pictures could be days or weeks, especially if airplanes were not used.[10]

As pictures became more important tools in the competition for circulation and scoops, newspapers and photo agencies employed any medium that could reduce the time to get pictures to the newspaper. Scheduled and chartered airplanes were common by the 1930s, as were express trains, motorcycles, and even, for short distances, pigeons. Sometimes the effort to get the pictures became part of the story, proof of the paper's determination and employment of the latest technology to best serve its readers.[11]

The attraction of Wirephoto was speed. Instead of sending a picture from San Francisco to New York by train in 85 hours or plane in 24 hours, wirephoto (which quickly became the generic name for the earlier "telephoto") promised transmission in only a few minutes.[12] For the first time, photographs could appear simultaneously with breaking stories.

Although hundreds of people were involved in the development, diffusion, and use of wirephoto, one person stands out. The most important, if somewhat self-promoting, figure was Kent Cooper, a career journalist and AP General Manager since 1927. Cooper had long promoted new technologies to accelerate newsgathering and dissemination.[13] Over the course of a decade from the mid-1920s, he maneuvered with byzantine skill his member newspapers and their owners into gradually accepting AP-distributed illustrations, photographs and, ultimately, Wirephoto. That he was able to accomplish this despite the directly competing financial interests of some AP members is a tribute to Cooper's vision, diplomatic skills and determination.

Other promoters of wirephoto were also longtime advocates of photojournalism. Walter Howey, the developer of the International News Photos telephoto system and the model for the editor in "The Front Page," had published a full page of photographs in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* to increase circulation in 1907 and was promptly fired due to the high cost of engraving them. When William Randolph Hearst tried to induce him to join the *Chicago Herald-Examiner* years later, Howey agreed only if he could run a full page of photos daily; Hearst agreed.[14] Norris A. Huse, who suggested the name 'Wirephoto,' had joined AP in 1926 and helped create its News Photo Service.[15] Moving from the "softer" features section into photography was common, as Harry B. Baker, who became the head of International News Photos, demonstrated.[16]

Cooper claimed he wanted AP to have a wirephoto service when he became General Manager in 1927, but could not openly promote this goal because its high cost would scare the AP Board. He also feared objections that photographs did not dignify newspapers and would harm the reputation of AP.[17]

In 1925, AT&T introduced its public Picture Telegraph service to serve what it anticipated as a large demand for the immediate transmission of business correspondence, advertising copy, urgent messages and newspaper pictures. Inside AP, Cooper quietly suggested a similar photo service, but did not receive a favorable reply. He then suggested what became the AP Feature Service in 1927. Subscribers received by mail the text of a story and matted pictures, ready for printing. This gave AP members experience in receiving and using illustrated material.[18]

Cooper next established a similar mail-based service for photographs, the AP News Photo Service, in 1928. His diplomatic abilities were most impressive as he managed to convince several members who owned competing newsphoto services not to object; he did so by appealing to their vanity, sense of journalism, and economic benefits.[19] By 1931, over 100 metropolitan papers received approximately 300 news photographs

weekly and another 500 papers received a page of photographs already prepared for printing in a matrix block.[20]

In 1928, Cooper reluctantly disclosed his eventual goal of wirephoto, a vision that "obviously stunned the Board."[21] The board took no action, but the vision did not die. In 1931, Norris Huse, executive editor of AP News Photo Service, forecast "a not distant future" when every AP paper would receive photographs as soon as the telegraphed news.[22]

Wirephoto had no champion like Cooper in AT&T. Indeed, one AT&T effort to nominate the major figure to write an introductory technical article about it found "the principal embarrassment is the large number of candidates for authorship."[23] Picture Telegraphy suffered a more serious problem. Like its government counterparts in Europe, the AT&T service lost substantial sums of money as only newspapers proved to be regular customers for the expensive service, and none too regular at that. Only major news events triggered newspaper use of the expensive service.[24]

By 1927, obvious technical shortcomings with its first generation equipment meant AT&T had to decide whether to improve this equipment or develop a new generation. When it chose the latter course, AT&T intended to continue its over-the-counter public service. The combination of dropping commercial demand caused by the Depression and growing interest by the AP and other press organizations produced a sea change in 1931 towards giving up direct control and offering private networks instead.[25]

The new system, which became Wirephoto, was faster, easier to operate, and more flexible compared with the first-generation equipment.[26] In October 1933, AT&T demonstrated this new equipment to news photography agencies and offered to lease specially conditioned long-distance lines and sell the telephoto transmitter-receivers. According to Cooper, to ensure an AP monopoly on wirephoto service, he suggested AT&T send an identical letter of tender to the four newsphoto services. Cooper drafted the letter, which set specifications that only AP could meet. Only AP responded favorably, deciding to purchase the equipment and establish its own force of technicians and operators.[27]

The Wirephoto network was expensive. AP did not go forward until it found subscribers to underwrite the estimated $5 million for the five-year contract. The largest expense was the annual $56 per mile charge for nearly 10,000 miles of leased telephone lines. Twenty-five Wirephoto machines at $16,000 each and a myriad of other expenses made Wirephoto very costly.[28] One reason AP agreed to lease wires was that, as a major user of leased telegraph and telephone wires to transmit its stories, leasing fit into the normal operating assumptions of AP managers.[29]

Figure 1 — Sending apparatus for 70B-1 telephotography equipment. Preparations are being made by J. H. Bell to send the picture of "Golden Boy". May 2, 1934. *Photo courtesy of AT&T Archives.*

The decision of AP's board of directors to adopt Wirephoto was not universally acclaimed. Indeed, the ensuing debate provoked a messy, noisy battle that began before the annual meeting in April 1934 and lasted into 1935.

The opposition was publicly spearheaded by John Francis Neylan, the conservative, aggressive general counsel for Hearst newspapers, 15 of which belonged to the AP.[30] Hearst's possessions included International News Photo, a news photo agency which was part of International News Service. Another formidable foe was Roy W. Howard, head of Scripps-Howard, which owned NEA Service-Acme News Pictures, Inc. The other major news photo agency, the *New York Times*' Wide World Photo stayed out of the fray. Neylan and Howard did not hide their apparent economic conflict of interest; indeed, they proclaimed that their agencies' experience with telephoto stimulated their stance. Their opposition involved economic self-interest for all newspaper publishers, not just the two news photo agencies.

In tactics reminiscent of the naval arms race in the decades before the Great War, opponents simultaneously pleaded with AP to avoid what they considered a costly, futile technological innovation and warned they would, if necessary, follow suit. The result would be journalistic stalemate but at much higher cost to everyone.[31] Another fear was that there were too few newsworthy photos to warrant a dedicated system. According to Frank Knox of the *Chicago Daily News*, possibly two pictures a day were worth the cost of telephoto.[32] What he did not consider was that wirephoto would change the definition and value of a newsworthy picture.

No opponent objected to the concept of wirephoto *per se*, but emphasized its very high direct and indirect costs and additional, undesired competition for newspapers.[33] The direct costs were the estimated $5 million to operate Wirephoto. The indirect costs would be incurred by rival news photos agencies developing their own wirephoto systems and the other efforts to accelerate photograph delivery. Most significantly, newspapers would have to either subscribe to a wirephoto service or risk losing circulation to competing papers that did subscribe. In the early years of Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, one goal of government and business was to eliminate "wasteful" competition. From a Depression-based perspective, telephoto certainly seemed to fit that definition.

After a long debate at the April 1934 annual meeting, Neylan's proposal to submit the telephoto plan to a vote by all 1315 AP members failed 95-19.[34] Wirephoto would proceed, serving over 25 cities for at

least 16 hours a day. But so did the opposition. In May, both Hearst and Scripps-Howards stated that none of their papers that belonged to AP would subscribe to Wirephoto.[35] On June 14, 1934, Neylan sent a letter to all AP members, attacking Wirephoto and offering alternatives and threats.[36] The assault was both financial and procedural.

Neylan claimed the wisest financial course for AP would be "the indefinite postponement of additional and unavoidable expenses, such as daily telephoto service." He claimed AT&T would absolve AP from its contract and restart its telephoto service if its operating losses were covered. This would provide newspapers with rapid service when — and only when — they desired it, at minimal cost. Acme, Wide World Photos, and International News Photos had agreed to this proposal, but not AP.

Dire consequences would result if the AP proceeded with "the extravagant and commercially impossible telephoto business." First, all the members of the Association would be forced to share the cost if the system failed, since AP had guaranteed the commitment to AT&T. Second, the faster service would initially go only to the large, metropolitan newspapers. Smaller papers would be forced to either cede a competitive advantage to their neighbors or themselves invest in the costly service. Either way, they would lose financially because of this "provocation to wasteful competition."

Furthermore, the management had deliberately withheld telephoto information from Adolph S. Ochs, the owner of *The New York Times* and an AP board member for over three decades. Ochs was excluded due to Cooper's fear that informing him would prompt the *Times*' Wide World Photos into developing its own telephoto service. Indeed, that is what happened — but because of the embarrassment and slight Ochs felt.[37]

Neylan's warnings of dire financial burdens undoubtedly rang true. Publishers worried about the rising cost of newsprint, staff unions, obtaining advertising, circulation, and other concerns in an economy that grew painfully slowly out of the depths of the Great Depression. W. W. Hawkins, the Scripps-Howard General Manager, thought that until employees' pay cuts were restored, Wirephoto was "an unjustifiable extravagance." How could publishers justify this major expense to their workers? Or was the AP management implying, "'Let 'em eat pictures.'"[38] And Wirephoto was expensive: Cooper privately estimated it cost three to 50 times more than mail service.[39]

But most publishers were newspapermen as well as businessmen, and the thirst to be first with the latest was very, very powerful. As important, newspaper readers also wanted the latest news, but increasingly they wanted pictures, too. Pictures sold papers and that sold advertisers.[40]

The newspapers' reaction to Wirephoto also was conditioned by their fear of the new technology of radio and the potential of television. Wirephoto promised to help, not hurt newspapers. In contrast, radio, with a nationwide audience that had grown into the tens of millions by the mid-1930s, threatened the newspapers' monopoly on quick-breaking "flash" news.[41] Radio, however, could not provide pictures and in-depth reporting and analysis.

Television, which did not enter commercial service until 1939 but whose promise had been touted for years, also appeared menacing, albeit in a more shrouded, unknown form. Both advocates and opponents of Wirephoto considered television in their decisions. Neylan used it as yet another reason to avoid a five-year commitment to the technology of telephoto.

Cooper drew the opposite lesson. For him, David Sarnoff's announcement in 1930 about the imminent technology of television meant that "my plans for the simultaneous transmission of news photos and the news in words throughout the country would have to be expedited." The threat of television displacing newspapers was not just a clash between competing technologies, it was personal:

> I did not want to contemplate the inferior position in which AP newspapers, with the advent of television, would find themselves because their own Associated Press had failed to offer them a practical way to obtain pictures by wire to print with the news in words. In other words, I wanted to give newspapers something as arrestingly attractive and practical in their field as I knew television would be for radio in its field.[42]

Despite the efforts of Neylan and his committee, the fall conference of AP editors was surprisingly quiet on the topic of Wirephoto.[43] Much credit for this goes to the proselytizing efforts of Norris Huse. He had spent much of 1934 talking to hundreds of editors across the country whose understandable skepticism "was overcome by Huse's firm belief in wire transmission of pictures, a conviction which was highly contagious."[44]

Delay and Deliverance

AT&T engineers remained outside the AP debates, but they encountered problems of their own. Although already built in prototype, the actual development and manufacturing of the 25 sets cost significantly more and demanded more time than anticipated by AT&T and its

manufacturing arm, Western Electric. As telephone engineers quickly realized, the AP system involved not just the actual telephoto equipment, but also developing and installing delay equalizers on the wires AP would lease; communication facilities to link the AP stations; switching facilities; and other equipment.[45]

Unfortunately for AT&T, its Bell Telephone Laboratories had underestimated these technical challenges, especially in developing delay equalizers because of the poorer than expected line quality. Consequently, development costs grew greatly. In May 1933, Bell Telephone Laboratories estimated development costs at $97,000 and the manufacturing cost of one machine at $11,000. Based on those numbers, selling 25 machines would give AT&T a modest profit of $28,000 on $400,000 of sales. But development costs escalated to $134,200 in June 1934 and ultimately to $161,500 in September 1934, a 70 percent increase over the original 1933 estimate. AT&T lost more than $35,000.[46] There is no evidence AT&T told AP about these increases, but it seems reasonable to assume that public disclosure of these added costs would have fueled opposition within AP to the purchase.

Originally scheduled to commence in September 1934, Wirephoto started four months late. By mid-September, only the New York installation was complete, although the equipment for Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C., was expected by month's end. One reason for the delay was the failure of newspapers or AP offices to have space ready for the equipment. More serious, however, was the slow delivery of machines from Western Electric.[47]

The first Wirephoto transmission occurred at 1 a.m. on January 1, 1935. Exemplifying this new ability to provide images of fast-breaking news, the photograph showed the survivors of a plane crash in the Adirondack Mountains.[48] Despite the usual glitches in introducing a new technology into an organization — many of which proper and periodic maintenance remedied, the system worked well. Close AT&T-AP cooperation led to a constant stream of modifications that increased the system's reliability and reduced the workload on operators.[49]

Nonetheless, on February 6, 1935, Neylan resumed his battle against Wirephoto and the AP management. In another letter to all members, he proposed amendments to the AP bylaws which would demand votes on the adoption of any radical innovation, whether to accept Wirephoto as an official AP activity, and on all matters affecting AP's credit. He also advocated increasing the size of the board of directors to allow more representatives of smaller newspapers, an action that soon was taken. Calling Wirephoto "a demonstrated and enormously costly failure," Neylan charged that AP's management was focusing on Wirephoto,

received by only 39 papers, to the neglect of its regular News Photo Service, which served over 1,200 other members.[50] In many ways these were the issues of the past.[51]

In contrast, supporters, such as newly elected AP director Frank E. Gannett, called Wirephoto a "courageous development still in its early stages."[52] AP president Frank B. Noyes of the *Washington Star* countercharged that Neylan's group was a threat to AP unity and misrepresented the contract terms while underplaying the potential of Wirephoto. C.H. Heintzelman, publisher of the *Coatesville Record*, considered Neylan a Hearst representative trying to hinder AP in its competition with Hearst.[53]

By October, 10 months after commencing operations, AP editors and publishers were praising Wirephoto for its ability to promptly provide pictures. The major complaints came from smaller papers which had been scooped by larger AP papers in nearby cities and were losing sales, exactly as Neylan had predicted.[54] By March 1936, Wirephoto was transmitting 60 to 70 photographs daily.[55]

Rise of Competing Systems

While Wirephoto had won the internal AP war, it now faced Neylan's threat of other news agencies developing and operating their own wirephoto systems. The reaction of the three big news photo agencies was swift. Within a year after the introduction of Wirephoto, they were testing or operating their own systems. The rapid introduction of three separate systems indicates the availability of engineers trained in facsimile and the technical maturity of telephoto, a maturity still lacking in widespread commercial value.

The emergence of new wirephoto services presented competition to AP and a challenge to AT&T. The major difference between Wirephoto and its competitors was simple: The new systems did not rely on high quality leased circuits, but on regular long-distance lines. Although picture quality was less than Wirephoto, the operating cost was significantly lower — only the expense of the long-distance call. Furthermore, this new equipment was less expensive than the AP system and portable, which enabled photographers to transmit from any telephone instead of having to deliver photographs physically to the nearest office with a Wirephoto machine.[56]

The use of costly leased lines was the key point of contention between the news photo agencies and AT&T, which viewed the matter not as a question of economics but of service. More frustratingly, Frank B. Jewett, head of Bell Telephone Laboratories, believed that Wirephoto and

AT&T were being used as pawns in battles within AP; between the competing press associations; and among individual papers. He wanted the papers to settle their disputes among themselves first and emphasized that AT&T would offer the same services to everyone. Like Neylan and Howard, he thought demand was too small to maintain competing systems.[57]

AT&T's stated concerns were threefold: First, could ordinary lines transmit photographs without interfering with voice transmissions? Second, would telephoto, because of the long time needed to send a photo, crowd other users out in times of need? Third, what were the long-term implications of providing open access to anyone who wanted to transmit anything over the previously closed AT&T wires?[58]

Like its European counterparts, AT&T had learned from its earlier public service that newspaper telephoto use did not follow the predictable patterns of voice traffic. Instead, it operated in uneven but circuit-monopolizing spurts, as news events sparked demand for photos. Many circuits had little demand for telephoto unless there was a specific news story — but since those stories were often disasters, those telephone lines also would be needed for voice messages.[59]

All the actors recognized that ordinary telephone lines provided less reliable transmission of lower quality photographs than AP's leased lines. For the newspapers and competing news photograph firms, the key issue was whether the higher quality and assured delivery were worth the significantly higher cost or instead, as Jewett paraphrased *The New York Times*' perspective, "out of all proportion" to their value for a newspaper.[60]

Photo Systems Developed Secretly

Newspapers and news photo agencies were less sanguine about leased lines. In spring 1934, Wide World Photos, International News Photos, and NEA Service-Acme News Pictures requested AT&T permission to use portable transmitters on ordinary telephone lines at regular long-distance rates. These new systems, which had been developed secretly, all used inductive or acoustic coupling to avoid the AT&T prohibition on direct contact with its telephone circuits.

Despite its misgivings, AT&T requested and received Federal Communication Commission permission for a one-year trial of the new systems, starting September 29, 1935. As well as absolving AT&T of any responsibility for the quality of the pictures, the regulations required no direct physical link of telephoto equipment to telephone circuits and no interference with telephone service. In their turn, the users would pay

only standard long-distance service and protect AT&T and its affiliates from any legal problems.[61]

The three competitors worked with AT&T to ensure compatibility with its wires and patent protection for everyone. Hearst's International News Service had, in its New York building, International Research Laboratories under Walter Howey. A team of engineers, including three who had worked with Richard Ranger on radio-transmitted facsimile at RCA, invited Bell Telephone Laboratories staff to look at their telephoto system in July 1934. Howey also asked and received permission to test it on an AT&T New York-Chicago circuit.[62]

More audacious was *The New York Times*, which quietly experimented with ordinary lines in 1934 and found facsimile pioneer Austin G. Cooley's system worked quite well. AT&T had refused the paper's request to use regular long-distance lines for wirephoto transmission so the paper took another tack.[63] Before the testing, publisher Arthur H. Sulzberger had asked AT&T president, Walter Gifford, a deliberately vague question about what he considered interference, and took Gifford's response as permission to proceed. After the fact, Sulzberger asked for AT&T's "good will and cordial cooperation" to continue as the *Times* developed its service.[64]

The fact was the first public demonstration of Cooley's system on February 14, 1935. By chance, the newspaper was testing the system between San Francisco and New York, when the naval airship *Macon* crashed. Operating under great secrecy within its photography offices, *The New York Times* had photographs of the crash sent to New York where they appeared on February 14. The next day, the paper explained that it managed to publish its pictures so fast because it was experimenting with its own wirephoto equipment.[65] AT&T and AP were caught by surprise.

Although Wirephoto began operations officially on January 1, 1935, February or March, 1936 may be a better milestone. In those two months, four competing telephoto services unveiled new equipment or began commercial operations. Scripps-Howard's NEA-Acme subsidiary, Hearst's International New Photos, and Wide World Photos announced they would begin operations. Responding to these challenges, AP announced it would install 25 portable transmitters, doubling its system and greatly increasing its flexibility. Wirephoto was now not only an accepted permanent feature of newspapers, it also was a competitive tool.[66]

Changing Perceptions

Clearly the wirephoto helped change the nature of news photography.[67] Timeliness and action became more valued components of a picture, often at the expense of "quality" and "beauty." Wirephoto

pictures had less detail and contrast than regular pictures. Transatlantic radiophoto pictures were even worse. But they were printed because they accompanied, not followed, major stories. Regardless of their quality, photographs with their visual impact were becoming even more important to selling newspapers.[68]

Editors and reporters responded to this new technology by denouncing, deflating and disembodying it. Denunciation failed; pictures continued to appear with print. Deflating wirephoto by viewing it as a necessary, containable evil enabled journalists to live with its increasingly prominent role. Disembodying wirephoto by separating it from its operators and comparing it to other technologies helped its acceptance because wirephoto did benefit newspapers, unlike radio and television. Although the newspaper community debated and discussed the changes wrought by wirephoto, Barbie Zelizer concludes that journalists lost "their chance to accommodate pictorial technology effectively and fully."[69]

Despite this disgruntlement, the new reality was that, as Malcolm W. Bingay, *Detroit Free Press* Editorial Director, stated, "More and more our papers as we develop the technique of handling art, have got to realize, especially with this wire photo [sic], that a fairly good story and a fairly good picture combined make a corking good paper feature."[70]

And corking good paper features sold newspapers, while earning the prestige and admiration of the public and journalists.

Four Wirephoto Services Exist by 1936

By 1936, Neylan's prediction — or threat — had come true. Four competing wirephoto services existed. Yet the American newspaper industry survived and even, considering the times, managed to almost prosper. In one sense, Neylan was right. Wirephoto had raised the standard and competing news picture agencies had to follow. Readers increasingly expected and received the latest pictures for important stories, transmitted simultaneously with the story, and newspapers understood that. As *Fortune* summarized the Wirephoto debate in 1937, "What really caused the commotion was the dawning realization among publishers that pictures had become quite as important as news itself, and that journalistic necessity was rapidly requiring that pictures be fresh as the news, riding right behind it on the wires."[71]

By April 1936, newspapers could receive and in some cases send photos via Wirephoto, Wide World Wired Photo, NEA-Acme Telephoto and International Sound Photo, which would further extend newspaper competition for photographs for years to come. Their photographic quality and operating concepts differed. The new entrants viewed tele-

photo as a "flash and bulletin service," operating only occasionally, whereas AP considered Wirephoto a "constant, continuing service" functioning every day all day.[72]

These different perspectives were not *ex post facto* justifications of their particular systems, but rather deeper reflections of how their promoters viewed the role of photography in journalism. Clearly, AP with its expensive system had a vested interest in maximizing the use of Wirephoto to reduce the per-photo cost and justify its expense. But Wirephoto also fulfilled Cooper's expectation of pictures transmitted normally with a story.

Nathaniel Howard, Managing Editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, surveying the first year of Wirephoto, concluded, "Yet the Wirephoto papers have come to feel, I think correctly, that they are thus giving their readers a new kind of realism unattainable by the printed word."[73] The picture people had prevailed.

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Endnotes

[1]Anthony North, "No, But I Saw the Pictures," *New Outlook* June 1934, 21.

[2]Malcolm W. Bingay, "The News and Pictures—Cameras and Reporters," in American Society of Newspaper Editors, *Problems of Journalism. Proceedings of 13th Annual Convention* 18-20 April 1935, 52-53.

[3]North, "No, But I Saw the Pictures," 17.

[4]Quoted in Tom Hopkinson, "Introduction," in Ken Baynes, et al., *Scoop Scandal and Strife. A study of photography in newspapers* (London: Hastings House, 1971), 7, and Derrick Knight, "Development," *ibid.*, 19-33. See also, Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press. Its Origins and Progress* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969). For a more wide-ranging exploration, see Barbie Zelizer, "Words against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography," in Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds. *Newsworkers. Toward a History of the Rank and File* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 135-59; Barbie Zelizer, "Technology Through a Retrospective Eye: Imaging Practices Between the World Wars and Beyond," *Journal of Communications* 45,2 (Spring 1995), 4-8; Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, eds., *Picturing the Past. Media, History, and Photography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Hanno Hardt, *In the Company of Media. Cultural Constructions of Communication, 1920s-1930s* (Boulder: Westview, 2000).

[5]Jack Price, "Smaller Dailies Must Consider Installing Photo Departments," *Editor & Publisher* 11 April 1936, 30.

[6]Manuel Komroff, "The Little Black Box," *Atlantic Monthly* October 1938, 470.

[7]North, "No, But I Saw the Pictures," 17-21; Jack Price, "Stanley Sees Greater Use of News Pictures," *Editor & Publisher* 16 April 1938, 24; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism. A History:*

1690-1960 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 682-84.

[8]Hardt, *In the Company of Media,* 60.

[9]Oliver Gramling, *AP. The Story of News* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1940), 328-35, 383-97.

[10]Air mail service between Los Angeles and Canton reduced the time by twelve days compared with a ship ("Speedier Oriental Pictures," *Editor & Publisher* 24 August 1935, 9).

[11]"Pigeon Carrier Is Latest Word in Short Distance Photo Transmission," *Editor & Publisher* 6 July 1935, 9; John W. Perry, "Dailies Strip Pages, Clear All Wires for Rogers-Post Smash Display," *Editor & Publisher* 24 August 1935, 1-2. For a sense of the competitiveness, see Sammy Schulman, *"Where's Sammy?"* (New York: Random House, 1943). For one British paper, half the story of the Hindenburg crash was getting the picture ("Merrill Flew This Picture," *Daily Express* 11 May 1937, 1).

[12]"AP Explains New Telephoto System," *Editor & Publisher* 28 April 1934, 6, 111.

[13]Including the first newspaper use of the telephone in Indiana in 1906 and the introduction of teletypewriters in 1914 (Kent Cooper, *Kent Cooper and the Associated Press. An Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1959), 31-34).

[14]Jack Price, "Walter Howey Early Foresaw Possibilities of Pictures," *Editor & Publisher* 9 November 1935, 22; "Walter C. Howey, Boston Editor, 72," *The New York Times* 22 March 1954, 27.

[15]"Norris Huse Dead; AP Photo Leader," *Editor & Publisher* 16 January 1937, 42; Cooper, *Cooper* 215.

[16]"Heads Hearst Photos," *Editor & Publisher* 15 February 1936, 10.

[17]This discussion is based on Cooper, *Cooper* 128-40.

[18]Mark Monmonier, *Maps with the News. The Development of American Journalistic Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 85.

[19]They were Adoph S. Ochs of the *The New York Times* and its Wide World Photos; Pacific and Atlantic Photos, operated by Colonel Robert R. McCormick's *Chicago Tribune* and Captain Joseph R. Patterson's *New York Daily News*; and William R. Hearst's Hearst Photo Service, which became International News Photos.

[20]Joe H. Brewer, "Pictures for the Papers," *The Quill* 19,4 (April 1931), 9.

[21]Cooper, *Cooper* 139.

[22]Brewer, "Pictures for the Papers," 9.

[23]A. B. Clark to O. B. Blackwell, 2 January 1935-345-ABC-MDK. 48 05 05 OCB, Central Files, AT&T Archives, Warren, NJ.

[24]Between 1923 and 1935, AT&T reported spending $1,371,382 on developing and operating its picture transmission service. Wirephoto opponents claimed AT&T had lost $2.8 million (Commercial Relations Dept., "Picture Transmission Expense," 13 February 1936, 85 08 02 03, AT&T Archives; "Neylan Organizing War on Telephoto," *Editor & Publisher* 16 June 1934, 9). See also, Jonathan Coopersmith, "Technological Innovation and Failure: The Case of the Fax Machine," *Proceedings of the Conference on Business History* (Rotterdam: Centre of Business History, Erasmus University, 1995), 61-77.

[25]R. D. Parker and P. Mertz, "Memorandum," 6 March 1936-336-RDP-QU + 342-PM-QU, 85 08 02 01 AT&T Archives; Cooper, *Cooper* 163.

[26]A. B. Clark to O. B. Blackwell, 2 January 1935-345-ABC-MDK. 48 03 05 OCB; F. J. Singer, "Telephotography - the 70B1 System," 4 June 1974, chapter 4 - v. 2, 2-9, 85 08 02 03 AT&T Archives.

[27]Long Lines Department, material for FCC, n.d. [c. 1936], main title, "Telephotograph," subtitle "Telephotograph Channel Service," 85 08 02 01 AT&T Archives; Cooper, *Cooper* 213-15.

[28]H. Jeavons, to W. J. McCambridge, 3 November 1933, 85 08 02 02 AT&T Archives.

[29]"News Groups Biggest Leased Wire Users," *Editor & Publisher* 30 March 1935, 14.

[30]"John Neylan, 74, Lawyer on Coast," *The New York Times* 20 August 1960, 19.

[31]"Howard Hits Again at AP Telephoto," *Editor & Publisher* 5 May 1934, 6.

[32]John W. Perry, "AP Members Approve Telephoto Service After Heated Debate in Convention," *Editor & Publisher* 28 April 1934, 3, 110.

[33]E.g., "Sees Big Press Cost in Telephoto Plan," *Editor & Publisher* 21 April 1934, 82.

[34]Perry, "AP Members Approve Telephoto Service," 3, 110; "AP Will Supply Telephoto Service to

Members," *New York Herald-Tribune*, 24 April 1934, Jewitt, 74 09 01, Cenrral Files, AT&T Archives.

[35]"Hearst, Scripps-Howard Ban AP Plan," *Editor & Publisher* 9 June 1934, 5, 39.

[36]"Neylan Organizing War on Telephoto," *Editor & Publisher* June 16, 1934, 9, 35.

[37]Meyer Berger, *The Story of The New York Times, 1851-1951* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1951), 408.

[38]"Hearst, Scripps-Howard Ban AP Plan," 5, 39.

[39]Cooper, *Cooper* 214.

[40][AP wirephoto subscribers], "Every Day A New Scoop By AP Wirephoto Newspapers," *Editor & Publisher* 14 September 1935, 18-19, ad.

[41]E.g., Stephen A. Bolles, "Where Are We Going With the Radio or Where Is the Radio Going With Us?" in American Society of Newspaper Editors, P*roblems of Journalism. Proceedings of 14th Annual Convention* 16-18 April 1936, 134-41. See also, Gwenthy L. Jackaway, *Media at War. Radio's Challenge to the Newspapers, 1924-1939* (Westport: Praeger, 1995).

[42]"Neylan Organizing War on Telephoto," 9; Cooper, *Cooper* 212.

[43]George H. Manning, "Telephoto Service is Chief Topic of A.P. Editors' Convention," *Editor & Publisher* 8 September 1934, 10; "A.P. Editors Discuss News Problems," *Editor & Publisher* 20 October 1934, 14, 39.

[44]"Norris Huse Dead," 42.

[45]H. H. Lowry, "Memorandum for file," 25 January 1934-331-JAC-EM. 48 05 05 OCB, AT&T Archives.

[46]A. F. Dixon to F. B. Gleason, 4 January 1934. 48 05 05 OCB; H. H. Lowry, "Memorandum for file," 25 January 1934-331-JAC-EM. 48 05 05 OCB; F. B. Gleason to W. T. Teague, 12 November 1934; A. F. Dixon to F. B. Jewett, 28 November 1934; A. F. Dixon to F. B. Gleason, 25 September 1934, 48 05 05 OCB, AT&T Archives.

[47]R. D. Parker to A. F. Dixon, 17 September 1934. 336-RDP-EP; F. B. Gleason to W. T. Teague, 12 November 1934. 48 05 05 OCB, AT&T Archives. See also, "Installing Telephoto," *Editor & Publisher* 6 October 1934, 18.

[48]Cooper, *Cooper* 219; Gramling, *AP*, 392.

[49]The technical weak point was the tuning fork, which demanded constant vigilance and readjustment to maintain it at a constant temperature and humidity (C. R. Hommowun, "Memorandum for File," 5 February 1935; B. W. Kendall to A. F. Dixon, 7 March 1935. 48 05 05 OCB, AT&T Archives; "Wirephoto 'Kinks' Rapidly Disappear," *Editor & Publisher* 11 April 1936, III, XV).

[50]"Neylan Renews Fight on Wire Photo," *Editor & Publisher* 16 February 1935, 5; John Francis Neylan to D. H. Moreau, Flemington Hunterdon *County Democrat*, 6 February 1935, Jewitt, 74 09 01, AT&T Archives; "A.P. By-Law Put Up to Board," *The New York Times* 23 April 1935, 16.

[51]"AP," *Fortune* February 1937, 158.

[52]Earl Sandmeyer, "Gannett Sees More Photos by Wire," *Editor & Publisher* 25 May 1935, 11, 44.

[53]"Battle for A.P. Proxies Heated; Unfair Competition Is Charged," *Editor & Publisher* 30 March 1935, 8; John W. Perry, "Code, Wirephoto, Convention Issues," *Editor & Publisher* 20 April 1935, 1-2; "Neylan Closes Proxy Drive; Macy Answers Frank B. Noyes," *Editor & Publisher* 20 April 1935. 8.

[54]Bice Clemow, "'Co-Operation' Is A.P. Meet Keynote," *Editor & Publisher* 19 October 1935, 7, 16.

[55]"Wirephoto 'Kinks' Rapidly Disappear," XV.

[56]Wide World Photo claimed its transmitter would lease for less than "'a good office boy'" and the receiver "at the price of the least efficient reporter" (Bice Clemow, "Wide World Telephoto System Ready," *Editor & Publisher* 22 February 1936, 9).

[57]Frank Jewett to Kent Cooper, 12 March 1935, Jewitt, 74 09 01, AT&T Archives.

[58]Director of Transmission Development to Colpitts, 21 February 1935-340-OBB-MDK; Frank Jewett to Kent Cooper, 7 March 1935, Jewitt, 74 09 01, AT&T Archives.

[59]Director of Transmission Development to Colpitts, 21 February 1935, Jewitt, 74 09 01, AT&T Archives.

[60]Jewett to Cooper, 12 March 1935. Jewitt, 74 09 01, AT&T Archives. Jewett also praised Salzberger as "a perfectly reasonable and very high-class man."

[61]"Use by Press of Message Telephone Service for Transmission of Pictures - Experimental Basis," n.d. [c. 1935]; Charles M. Graves to Harry Jeavons, 27 June 1935, Jewett 74 09 01, AT&T Archives;

"Cross-Country Photo-Phone Trial Planned for Baer-Louis Fight," *Editor & Publisher* 21 September 1935, 12.

[62]J. J. Pilliod to H. P. Charlesworth, 17 July 1934, 48 05 05 OCB, AT&T Archives.

[63]F. E. Meinholtz to Harry Jeavons, 21 March 1934; Harry Jeavons to F. E. Meinholtz, 19 April 1934; F. E. Meinholtz, "Memo for Mr. A. H. Sulzberger," 28 April 1934, Times Facsimile Company, 1941-59 (General) (4), 1941-46, *The New York Times* Archives, New York, NY.

[64]Sulzberger's letter is worth quoting in detail: "You may recall the conversation which I had with you some months ago, at which time I asked you whether or not it made a difference to the Telephone Company if English or Turkish were spoken over the wires. When you replied in the negative, I posed the same question for Turkish or gibberish, and followed that by asking frankly if the noise we put at one end of a phone line were taken off at another end and translated into a picture, would be any concern of yours other than a welcome addition to the Telephone Company's revenue. You assured me at that time that this was the case, and shortly after that our first experiments were started." (Arthur H. Sulzberger to Walter Gifford, February 27, 1935, Jewitt, 74 09 01, AT&T Archives)

[65]Berger, *The New York Times*, 410-11; "First Pictures of the Survivors of the Macon Disaster," *The New York Times* 14 February 1935, 3 and the untitled editorial, *The New York Times* 15 February 1935, 18. The paper did not reveal any technical details.

[66]Bice Clemow, "Picture Services Rushing Into Field of Telephotograph Transmission," *Editor & Publisher* 29 February 1936, 3-4; Jack Price, "First Details of NEA Wirephoto Equipment Told by Ferguson," *Editor & Publisher* 4 April 1936, 32; Campbell Watson, "Howey Pleased with Soundphotos; Describes Three New Processes," *Editor & Publisher* 11 April 1936, VIII, X.

[67]Jonathan Coopersmith, "Pornography, Technology, and Progress," *ICON* 4 (1998), 94-125.

[68]See the discussions in "The News and Pictures — Cameras and Reporters," *Problems of Journalism* April 1935, 49-70 and "A Critical and Constructive Review of our Wire and Photo Services" *Problems of Journalism* April 1936, 91-107.

[69]Barbie Zelizer, "Journalism's 'Last' Stand: Wirephoto and the Discourse of Resistance," *Journal of Communications* 45,2 (Spring 1995), 78.

[70]Malcolm W. Bingay, "The News and Pictures — Cameras and Reporters," in American Society of Newspaper Editors, *Problems of Journalism. Proceedings of 13th Annual Convention* 18-20 April 1935, 51.

[71]"AP," *Fortune* February 1937, 90.

[72]Clemow, "Picture Services," 3-4.

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The "Ballyhoo" of New Communication Technology

By Kathleen Endres
The University of Akron

Have you ever noticed how every new communication technology has been greeted with ballyhoo?

The optimists predict political, social and economic change. So do the pessimists.

But invariably nothing really changes — information might be delivered more quickly or in a different format, but the message remains the same.

In December 1961, *Show* magazine, a short-lived, slick magazine of the performing arts, caught this sentiment perfectly on its front cover. Of course, the artist, the writer and the editor — all men — never planned that their cover would be used as a critique of technology. Nonetheless, this cover cries for commentary.

Show magazine, December 1961

The tabletop TV of the early 1960s — like the clunky radio (and the magazine, newspaper, pamphlets, newsbooks, papyrus, stone carvings) before it and the CD-ROM, Internet and HDTV after it — has always projected images and messages that reflect limited roles for women, i.e. the status quo.

The etching on this TV screen, which originally appeared in *Harper's* in the 19th century, shows women as wives and mothers within the household. These women needed to be protected, loved, saved. And that message continued to work well in the next century on radio, big screen and pulp fiction. *The Shadow*, *Superman*, James Bond and, yes, even the *Virginia Vamp* showed women in only limited stereotypical manners — the loved, the victim, the temptress.

The message is much the same today.

Most movies and television programs show women as helpmates, victims or vamps. Rogue might have superhuman powers in the new "X-Men" movie but she still needs to be saved by Wolverine. Roz and Daphne might be working women on "Frazier" but their roles are little more than subordinates to the male stars. In newspapers and magazines, you'll see the standard fare: woman as perfect wife, doting mother, career woman who never loses her femininity or temptress eager to please her man. The digital revolution has changed little. Pornography sites are still the most profitable enterprises online. Even sites aimed at women tell a limited story: ivillage.com offers screen after screen of self-help stories, advice columns and chat rooms designed to help women reach the unattainable stereotypical standards of wife, mother, career woman, sex goddess.

And so, the next time, a "media futurist" spouts off about the fantastic opportunities or problems offered by yet another technology, remember the track record of the past millennium: The medium may change, but not the message.

The Digital Watchdog's First Byte: Journalism's First Computer Analysis of Public Records

by Scott R. Maier

This account of journalism's first computer analysis of public records chronicles the early promise of computer-assisted reporting(CAR) and examines how many of the challenges posed by technology more than 30 years ago persist in today's digital newsroom. The article documents how the Miami Herald in 1968 transcribed and analyzed 13,000 keypunch cards to examine Dade County's uneven prosecution of crime. The result was a revealing series entitled "A Scientific Look at Dade Crime" — and the inception of a potent genre of public service journalism. But, as the Herald learned, technology does not make a reporter's work easier, just potentially more incisive. Understanding the difficulties the Herald encountered in 1968 gives perspective to the slow and faltering advance of computer-assisted reporting.

When the *Miami Herald* published "Crime & No Punish ment," the 1994 computer analysis documenting the failings of the local judicial system evoked a strong response.[1] Readers demanded reform. Attorneys volunteered to serve *gratis* as deputy prosecutors. Officials toughened sentencing procedures. The eight-day series was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize and deservedly won awards from the Society for Professional Journalists, Investigative Reporters and Editors, and the American Bar Association.[2] Less heralded was another computer analysis exposing Dade County's flawed judicial system. That analysis also produced a series of investigative stories — in the *Miami Herald* 26 years earlier.

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This account of journalism's first computer analysis of public records chronicles the early promise of computer-assisted reporting and examines how many challenges posed by technology more than 30 years ago persist in today's digital newsroom. While many academic and industry commentators contend the computer age has brought profound changes to journalism, few have explored the history of this transformation.

Almost entirely overlooked in the literature is how the *Miami Herald* in 1968 transcribed and analyzed 13,000 keypunch cards detailing Dade County's uneven prosecution of crime. The result was a revealing series entitled "A Scientific Look at Dade Crime"[3] — and the inception of a potent genre of public service journalism that has become a mainstay of everyday reporting as well as the award-winning expose. But, as the *Herald* ruefully learned, technology does not make a reporter's work easier, just potentially better. Understanding the difficulties encountered by the *Herald* in 1968 gives perspective to the slow and faltering advance of computer-assisted reporting.

Computer Power Aids Reporters

The power of the computer as a reporting tool is well-documented. Articles in trade and academic journals extol the use of computers as a means of gathering, organizing and analyzing information that can be used to develop substantive news stories.[4] In particular, computer-assisted reporting provides journalistic scrutiny of government with a level of precision never before possible. Unlike in 1968, when the *Herald* had to painstakingly copy by hand agency-written files and keypunch its own database, reporters today directly access electronic government records. Notes communication scholar Margaret DeFleur, "With the power of the computer . . . reporters could identify trends, relationships and other patterns that would never have been apparent when paper records were stored in file folders within long rows of cabinets . . . . There was little that could remain undetected, as had been the case with a sea of paper."[5] In nearly every year since 1986, reporters have won Pulitzer Prizes for stories based on computer-assisted reporting.[6]

Journalists and communication scholars at times seem almost breathless in their appraisal of the role of computers in the news industry. Elliott Jaspin, the first to win a Pulitzer using computer-assisted reporting, contends that "a journalist who can't read a reel of magnetic tape is as illiterate as the 15th century peasant confronted by Gutenberg."[7] Making a similar historical comparison, Anthony Smith in *Goodbye, Gutenberg* heralds the computerization of print as "truly a third revolution in communication" on scale with the invention of writing and the printing

press.[8] These historical metaphors ascribe mythic proportions to the computer, but the point remains that the news business has undergone fundamental change. Notes DeFleur, "A decade ago, few journalists would have regarded the history of the electronic computer as relevant to their craft. However, it is now a critical analytical tool. Like it or not, it has become a part of the intellectual heritage of journalism, just as other major technologies, such as the power-driven press, the telegraph, and the linotype did in the past."[9]

Computer-assisted reporting is less a new form of journalism than it is an extension of the time-honored tradition of watchdog and investigative journalism.[10] Computers enable skilled journalists to follow the data, to dig deeper and unearth underlying patterns and societal failings, just as generations of muckrakers have done using old-fashioned reporting techniques. Drawing on an even earlier journalistic tradition, newsroom use of computers extends John Milton's notion of a "marketplace of ideas" into systematic examinations of electronic government records.[11]

Computer-assisted reporting also fits well with the concept of public journalism by generating information that reveals structural explanations for what is happening in a community.[12] But whether employed for traditional or new forms of journalism, technology augments but does not replace basic "shoe-leather" reporting or the need for skilled storytelling. As proponents have insisted from the early days of computer-assisted reporting, the computer is akin to the telephone — it is "just another tool" for getting information.[13]

"The Trouble with Machines"

In an event of which historians took little note, the first use of computers for news analysis occurred November 4, 1952, when CBS television made use of the Remington Rand UNIVAC to predict the outcome of the presidential contest between Dwight Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson. Defying pollster expectations, the computer accurately predicted a landslide for Eisenhower. But it was not until late on election night that Walter Cronkite and other newscasters accepted the computer's call, prompting CBS commentator Edward Murrow to remark, "The trouble with machines is people."[14]

The print media's use of computerized survey data dates at least to 1963, when *Newsweek* published its reports on the "Negro in America."[15] In 1967, precision journalism pioneer Philip Meyer turned to computers to analyze survey data of African Americans living in an inner-city community buffeted by race riots.[16] The resulting story in the *Detroit Free Press*, "The People Beyond 12th Street,"[17] played a major role in the *Free Press* staff's award of the 1968 Pulitzer Prize for local general reporting.[18]

A year later, *Miami Herald* editors and business officials pondered how they might harness their state-of-the-art computer to perform research tasks beyond the human capabilities of the reporting staff.[19] Out of their discussion, "A Scientific Look at Dade Crime" was conceived. On the first day of publication of the week-long series, the *Herald* boasted it had "ventured into a new area of journalism,"[20] a claim that has stood the test of time. Though it is a common practice today, no other paper before had used the computer to analyze government records.[21] However, the series drew little attention — then or in more recent years. For example, the Freedom Forum's Newseum displays several examples of the early use of computers in the newsroom, but missing from the exhibit is mention of the *Herald's* pioneering work. This account seeks not only to establish the *Herald's* place in history, but also to help explain why – as is often the case with technological innovation — it took several decades for computer-assisted reporting to take hold in the newsroom.[22]

Happenstance, Abandonment and Resurrection

As with many journalistic enterprises, the *Herald's* 1968 investigation of Dade County's judicial system was more a matter of happenstance than design. *Herald* reporter Clarence Jones, a hard-driving investigative journalist, had intended to expose the corruption of a prominent judge. But the judge died while Jones was collecting the evidence against him. Rather than abandon his work, Jones decided to expand the investigation to search for a pattern of corruption in the Dade County judicial system.

The scope of the investigation was ambitious. Jones and his editors wanted to track how every major criminal action was handled over a year, from arrest to final disposition.[23] Calculating that it would take more than two years to singlehandedly compile the information, the *Herald* hired a dozen University of Miami law students to cull through police and court records. The newspaper also figured the crime investigation would be ideal to showcase the newspaper's high-powered IBM 360.[24]

Herald editors considered Jones a natural choice to lead such a project. He was intelligent (four years earlier, he had received Harvard University's prestigious Nieman fellowship), he knew his way around the courtroom, and from the newspaper's perspective, he also was technically minded. "The clincher," *Herald* Executive Editor John McMullan explained in his weekly column, "was the important fact that Jones knew enough about mechanics to perform the periodic checkups on the family Volkswagen."[25] At age 32, Jones already had made his mark as a journalist on the rise. He began working full-time as a reporter while still in journalism school at the University of Florida. By the time he joined the *Herald*

in 1964, he had experience as a police reporter for the *Florida Times-Union* and as a political reporter for the *Jacksonsville Journal*.[26]

Technology's Downside

The project proved more difficult than anyone had imagined. The law students discovered the court documents frequently were inaccurate and incomplete.[27] Coding the information was a labor-intensive process that required keypunching four computer cards for each of the 3,000 arrests examined.[28] Information systems manager Clark Lambert, described by the newspaper's management as the "*Herald's* resident genius in computers," was brought in to handle the technical details.[29] Lambert and other *Herald* programmers wrote computer programs in COBOL, a high-level computer language, for each calculation.[30] Frequently, the programs had to be reworked because the results either did not make sense or invited new questions to be answered. IBM officials, intrigued by the novel use of computers in the newsroom, dispatched two programmers to assist the *Herald*.[31]

Jones found himself in competition with his own newspaper, as the IBM 360 was in high demand by the *Herald's* production, advertising and business departments. The computer generally was free for newsroom use only in the late afternoon. In desperation, Jones sometimes turned to a counter-sorter, a device using 19th century technology to manually sort and count the computer cards. But the counter-sorter could only cross-tabulate variables appearing on the same computer card (each data set filled four cards). Unlimited cross-tabulation required the ever-busy IBM 360. Repeatedly, Jones would have to wait for idle computer time, only to be frustrated by the results. "The most important thing I learned," Jones said in a 1968 interview, "is that a computer can only count. If we aren't smart enough to tell it what to count, all we get is garbage."[32] The computer produced so much "garbage" that Jones abandoned the project, packed his bags, and moved with his family to Washington, D.C., for a plum assignment as the newspaper's capitol correspondent.[33]

But the project was unwittingly revived by a *Herald* publicist who, working far in advance of the intended publication of the crime series, had ordered a full-page advertisement in *Editor & Publisher* lauding the newspaper's foray into computer-assisted journalism. "Meet our newest reporting team," the ad said, exhibiting a photograph of Jones sitting next to a doctored image of a grinning IBM 360 (Figure 1). "Reporter Clarence Jones. A *Herald* computer. Together they cracked the information barrier on Dade County's rising crime rate." The advertisement, running on page one of *Editor & Publisher*, could not be ignored. Recalled

Meet our newest reporting team

Reporter Clarence Jones. A Herald computer. Together they cracked the information barrier on Dade County's rising crime rate and what happens after an arrest is made. The answers could be found among individual court records, but sorting them out was too vast a project for one reporter. The Herald employed 12 law students for two months, compiling data that would have taken a reporter two years. Information on 3,400 defendants, covering a 12-month period, was processed by our computer. Printouts not only provided complete statistics on arrests, charges, court action and final dispensation, but showed what combinations of lawyers and judges resulted in light sentences or acquittals and which in stiff penalties. The data is the basis for a series of probing articles, detailing a breakdown of the county's law enforcement machinery. Is there a need for this kind of record keeping? The sheriff's office calls us for information . . . referring to our "library" as the most complete source on law enforcement in the county.

THE MIAMI HERALD

ONE OF A SERIES TO BETTER ACQUAINT YOU WITH THE FAMILY OF KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL • CHARLOTTE NEWS • CHARLOTTE OBSERVER • DETROIT FREE PRESS • MIAMI HERALD • PHILADELPHIA DEMOCRAT

Figure 1 — A November 26, 1968 advertisement in *Editor & Publisher* lauded the *Herald*'s foray into computer-assisted reporting — three weeks before the crime series was published.

from Washington, Jones resurrected the project and finally made sense of the data. The crime series ran three weeks after *Editor & Publisher* had proclaimed the computer analysis a *fait accompli*.[34]

A Digital Analysis of Crime

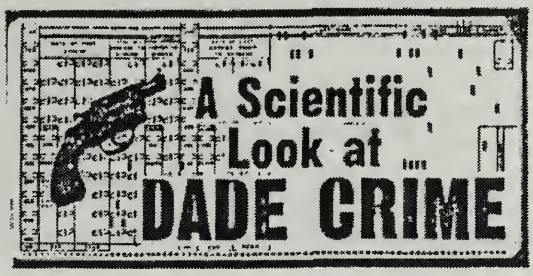


Figure 2 — The logo for the *Herald*'s crime series.

In a front-page story titled, "Computer Reveals Patterns of Dade Crime" (Figure 2), readers were told that new technology had been used to examine who was winning the Dade County war on crime. To find answers, the newspaper had tracked 3,000 arrests made between July 1, 1966 and June 30, 1967. The results were sobering. The *Herald* found Miami had one of the nation's highest crime rates – and one of the lowest rates of arrest. Even more troubling, the data showed, most arrests for major crimes never resulted in jail or prison time. The wide-ranging series also brought attention to youth crime: more than a third of arrests involved young people, ages 17 to 20.[35]

The *Herald* found that African American youth represented 15 percent of the population but 73 percent of teenage arrests.[36] Another article showed that the scales of justice were tipped against the poor.[37] The series also documented that vice is a low-risk proposition. Only a small minority of those accused of prostitution or gambling were convicted and less than 7 percent of those ever went to jail.[38] In an article that would not meet today's standards of gender sensitivity, readers were told that women play a small role in crime, "but they play it passionately" (their most frequent crimes involved sex, gambling and murder). The non-bylined story explained that prostitution "of course" is predominantly a woman's crime.[39]

Perhaps most interesting was what the *Herald* could not determine. After a week of articles analyzing crime data from seemingly every angle, the *Herald* acknowledged it still could not figure out "what is really happening in the crime war."[40] In the face of an archaic and incomplete system of recordkeeping involving 26 municipal police departments and five other criminal justice agencies, the *Herald* concluded that nobody could adequately track what happens after an arrest is made.[41]

But the *Herald* discovered it knew more than the police when Dade County Sheriff E. Wilson Purdy made an unexpected call on the newspaper. His internal affairs squad, the sheriff explained, needed to track the arrests made by three deputies under investigation. It would take hundreds of hours for the sheriff's staff to sift through the files to find the information. Purdy asked, "Can we get any help from you and that computer?" The newspaper agreed to help, and in minutes produced a printout of more than a hundred arrests made by the deputies – and the disposition of each case. An investigator later visited the newsroom to discuss the computer findings. When the interview was over, Jones gathered up the printout. "Wait a minute," the deputy said, "those belong to the Public Safety Department." No, Jones explained, they were *Herald* property. Incredulous, the deputy asked, "You mean we have to come to you to find out what our own men were doing last year?"[42]

A Model Ignored

In his column "Report to Our Readers" (Figure 3), McMullan predicted the computer-based series would "point the way to similar newspaper projects elsewhere."[43] But few paid much attention to the *Herald*'s pioneering work. According to Jones, the series neither won awards nor received notice in trade publications. Colleagues offered little comment about Jones' groundbreaking work with computers. The series also evoked little response from the public. No substantive reform of the criminal justice system resulted.[44] Not until 1972, when *The New York Times* tracked New York City's uneven response to crime, did newspaper use of computers to analyze government data begin to become an established method of reporting.[45]

A critical examination of the *Herald's* crime series shows that the stories were flawed. The series was billed as a "scientific look" at crime, but no rigorous statistical analysis was made of the data. The series promised to explain what the figures "mean in human terms," but only one story examined in any depth the people affected by Miami's crime wave.[46] Violent crime was reported to be the "special province of the young Negro," but the *Herald* did little to explain the conditions that made it so. The investigation also fell short of the *Herald*'s original objective to document corruption within the criminal justice system. "We didn't get out all we had hoped," McMullan said in a recent interview. "You always start out with the premise that there is a body buried somewhere. We may not have found all the bodies, but what we found certainly was worthwhile."[47]

Despite its shortcomings, the series did indeed demonstrate the prowess of computer-assisted reporting. Crime reporting generally is

DEC 15 1968 DEC 15 1968

Report To Our Readers

From JOHN McMULLAN
Herald Executive Editor

35-a

A New Concept Is Born

Reporter Clarence Jones was deep in computer print-out sheets that lie behind the front-page court survey beginning today when he received an unexpected visit a couple of months ago from Sheriff E. Wilson Purdy.

His internal affairs squad, Purdy explained, needed to find out who had been arrested by certain deputies and what happened in court.

Without hundreds of hours of record searching, there was no way for the department — or anyone else — to find out.

"CAN WE GET any help from you and that computer?" inquired Purdy, who knew of The Herald's research project.

Jones made a quick check with Clark Lambert, The Herald's resident genius in computers, and replied:

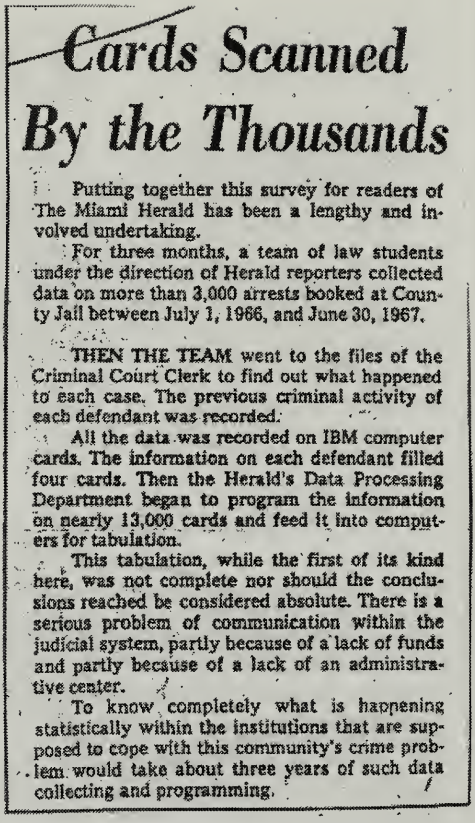
"No trouble. We'll run it out for you."

Within a few minutes, the IBM 360 computer printed everything it had stored in its vast memory about more than a hundred arrests made by the three deputies — following each case all the way through its involved court travels. The IBM

Figure 3 — *Herald* Executive Editor John McMullan explains that even law-enforcement officials sought information from the newspaper's database on crime and punishment.

episodic, rarely going beyond the crime of the day. When broader issues are raised (often by politicians with self-serving agendas), coverage tends to be anecdotal or polemical. But the readers of the *Herald* were given an in-depth, fact-based analysis of crime, an issue of clear public concern.

The *Herald* also provided what must have been journalism's first "Nerd Box" (Figure 4), a fixture of today's computer-assisted reporting, in which the newspaper provides the technical details on how a project is accomplished.[48] Perhaps most important, the *Herald* had shown that Dade County officials were not doing their job. If the *Herald*, using the same type of data processing equipment as that owned by the county could gather this information, why couldn't those in charge of ensuring the public's safety? Until Dade County made a similar effort, the *Herald* concluded, "the public simply cannot know who is winning the crime war."[49]



Cards Scanned By the Thousands

Putting together this survey for readers of The Miami Herald has been a lengthy and involved undertaking.

For three months, a team of law students under the direction of Herald reporters collected data on more than 3,000 arrests booked at County Jail between July 1, 1966, and June 30, 1967.

THEN THE TEAM went to the files of the Criminal Court Clerk to find out what happened to each case. The previous criminal activity of each defendant was recorded.

All the data was recorded on IBM computer cards. The information on each defendant filled four cards. Then the Herald's Data Processing Department began to program the information on nearly 13,000 cards and feed it into computers for tabulation.

This tabulation, while the first of its kind here, was not complete nor should the conclusions reached be considered absolute. There is a serious problem of communication within the judicial system, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of an administrative center.

To know completely what is happening statistically within the institutions that are supposed to cope with this community's crime problem would take about three years of such data collecting and programming.

Figure 4 — Journalism's first "Nerd Box" providing the technical details of the computer-assisted reporting.

Technology's Challenge

Technological advances have eliminated many of the challenges the *Herald* encountered in 1968. Data collection that required copying agency files by hand and keypunching the information on stacks of computer cards is commonly avoided today by directly accessing electronic government records. Calculations that required extensive programming now can be made by using the point-and-click technology of an electronic spreadsheet. Analysis that demanded a mainframe computer

now can be performed on a $1,000 desktop personal computer. Data-crunching that used to be excruciatingly slow now takes nanoseconds to conduct. A person can get done "in a blink of your eye what would take you three hours [in 1968]. The difference is that dramatic," said Lambert, the *Herald* computer technician who guided the data analysis to completion.[50]

However, despite the advances in technology, many of the issues in computer-assisted reporting the *Herald* encountered in 1968 persist today. For example, government files can now be downloaded, but ease of access provides no assurance the information is complete or accurate. As Jones learned more than 30 years ago, the computer is only as "smart" as the humans tell it to be; faulty logic produces faulty results.[51] Just as Jones lacked the statistical skills needed to fulfill the series' billing as "scientific," relatively few reporters and editors today are schooled in the statistical methods of precision journalism.

As the *Herald* noted in 1968, computers provided only a starting point for investigation; then "the old familiar reporting job had to be resumed."[52] A quarter century after the stumbling computer investigation was published in the *Herald*, reporters were still being warned about the "dirty little secret" of computer-assisted journalism – technology does not make reporting either easier or faster.[53] In short, the difficulties faced by the *Herald* in its pioneering work represent challenges with computer-assisted reporting that news organizations are still trying to understand.

Several explanations can be given why the *Herald* was the first newspaper to use computers to analyze government records. In 1968, the *Herald* already was a technological leader, using the computer for business purposes to predict areas of population growth and make the newspaper's advertising and circulation departments more efficient. There was a predisposition "to go as far as computers would take us," said McMullan.[54] Top management not only supported use of computers but also understood them. General Manager Harold Jurgensmeyer was a former IBM salesman, as was Lambert. Moreover, they were willing to serve as interpreters for the non-technologically minded. "I didn't talk too much geek – I guess it was my sales background," said Lambert.[55]

Jones also credits McMullan's willingness to take risks: "McMullan's great gift, as far as I was concerned, was his willingness to take on monumental, unusual reporting projects where the odds were not good for success. The computer project was one of those. And if you failed (as many of them did) there was no blame. He stood behind the people who worked for him like nobody else I ever knew."[56] Also, it probably is no coincidence that the two earliest pioneers of computer-assisted reporting – Meyer and Jones – were both Nieman fellows. The fellowships not only

attract the best and the brightest, but they foster a willingness to stretch journalism's intellectual boundaries.

Technological Diffusion in the Newsroom

The technical challenges the *Herald* faced in 1968 also help explain why the newsroom has been slow to embrace computer-assisted reporting. Converting paper into electronic form is a laborious process that only the most doggedly determined reporters are willing to endure. For example, Donald Barlett and James Steele of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* had to transcribe information from more than 10,000 documents and 20,000 pages of transcripts to produce their prize-winning 1973 story on inequities in the judicial system.[57]

By 1978, when the *Herald* established another milestone in computer-assisted reporting, Rich Morin and Fred Tasker became the first reporters to directly access and analyze government documents compiled in computer form. Using a high-powered statistical program to analyze tax assessments in Dade County, they showed that expensive properties were effectively taxed at a lower rate than low-priced properties.[58] The assessor resigned and a repeat of the analysis the following year showed the disparities had been significantly reduced.[59] Despite these early success stories, newsroom use of computers languished for many years. In the 1970s, reporters resisted use of new technology even for such basic tasks as word processing.[60] In the mid-1980s, the majority of newspapers still did not use online databases such as Nexis and Dialog.[61] As late as 1992, about half the nation's newsrooms still did not use computers to analyze government records.[62]

Journalism educators also were slow to incorporate computer technology into their curricula. In the early 1990s, panelists outnumbered the members in the audience when computer-assisted reporting was discussed at several journalism educator conferences.[63] As late as 1997, a commentary published in *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* lamented that "advanced computer-assisted reporting education has spread little beyond the few 'hot spots' established by the handful of computer gurus willing to leave daily journalism to teach."[64]

The Digital Newsroom

Only in recent years, as the technology became friendly and cheap enough for wordsmiths, has computer-assisted reporting evolved into a mainstay of American journalism.[65] No longer relegated to the newsroom "nerd," computer analysis has become a staple of beat reporting as well as

the investigative project. Computers routinely are used by the news media today to analyze campaign finances, property taxes, school test scores and other public data. The National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting figures it has trained more than 12,000 journalists, and many newsrooms now employ in-house trainers to further spread technological skills.[66] Use of technology is now well-established in most university journalism programs. Computer-assisted reporting has become so commonplace that Debbie Wolfe, technology training editor at the *St. Petersburg Times*, declared, "The revolution is over."[67]

The Internet accelerated the transformation to digital reporting. From reporting a breaking murder story to covering school test scores, online research has become standard practice in the newsroom.[68] The Internet also has taken computer-assisted reporting to new frontiers. From virtually anywhere in the world, journalists now can use a laptop computer and an Internet connection to gain access to the same information and databases that reporters draw on in the newsroom.[69] In fact, online newsgathering has surpassed all other applications of the computer in the newsroom.[70] Notes Garrison, who has tracked the meteoric rise of online research in the newsroom, "Journalists are experiencing a metamorphosis in newsgathering in the newsroom. The new technologies of computer networking at a global level are altering journalism in a manner that will, ultimately, compare to the change brought to newsrooms by the telephone or typewriter."[71]

In a 1968 *Newsweek* article titled "A Computer Reporter," Meyer is quoted as saying that he felt "like a missionary" espousing the power of computer data analysis. "It's the wave of the future," he predicted. "So many questions can't be answered in any other way."[72] He still is proselytizing. While computers are commonly used today for their communication and search capabilities, Meyer laments that deeper analytical techniques are not applied more often to unveil misdeeds and reveal systematic societal failings.[73]

Ironically, the Internet's rapid development as a journalist's newsgathering tool perhaps has slowed the advance of the kind of computer data analysis that Meyer and Jones pioneered in the 1960s. With so much information available a click away on the World Wide Web, many newsrooms and journalism schools have focused their resources on Internet research.[74] Consequently, data analysis in the newsroom remains relegated to the technological elite.[75] Despite impressive technological advances, the diffusion of computer-assisted reporting has been slow-paced and uneven. Computer and statistical skills in the newsroom still need to be sharpened and made more broad based if newspapers are to take full advantage of the technology the *Herald* introduced to the American newsroom.

The *Herald's* series on crime stands as a major milestone in the development of computer-assisted reporting. The newspaper overcame substantial technical barriers to become the first to use computers to analyze government documents. The lack of acclaim for this early use of computers does not diminish the *Herald*'s historical accomplishment. It is instructive that technological breakthroughs often go unnoticed. The example the *Herald* set more than 30 years ago took years, and in some cases, decades, for many other news organizations to follow. The diffusion of computer-assisted reporting remains ongoing as more journalists learn the technology and discover new ways to put it to use.

Yet those involved in making the crime series said they had little notion they were making history. "I guess we knew in a sense we were pioneering, but we never were making too much of being first," McMullan said. He recalls telling the computer research team the technology was not the story. "I probably said, 'I don't care how it's done, as long as we do it.' "[76] Perhaps that is the most important lesson to be drawn from this account of the *Herald's* foray into computer-assisted reporting. The computer is only a tool, capable in the right hands of bringing depth and breadth to a story. In a technological age, the traditional qualities of a good journalist — enterprise, tenacity and resourcefulness — remain paramount. But journalists today must apply these bedrock qualities to the mastery of new technological skills. Only then can the stories of our times be told.

Endnotes

[1]Jeff Leen and Don Van Natta, Jr., "Crime and No Punishment," *Miami Herald* reprint, Seprember 1994.

[2]Bruce Garrison, *Successful Strategies for Computer-Assisted Reporting* (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996), 53.

[3]Clarence Jones and the Computer Research Team, "A Scientific Look at Dade Crime," *Miami Herald*, 15-22 December 1968.

[4]See, for example, William Webb, "Unlocking Data Power," *Editor & Publisher*, 20 May 1995, 32-36, 41; The Freedom Forum Center for Media Studies, "Harnessing Computers to Cover the News," *The Forum*, September 1993, 4-7; Cecilia Friend, "Daily Newspaper Use of Computers to Analyze Data," *Newspaper Research Journal* 15 (Winter 1994): 63-72; and Philip Meyer, *The New Precision Journalism* (Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 1991).

[5]Margaret DeFleur, *Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting* (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associares, 1997), 72.

[6]DeFleur, *Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting*, 89-91; "Inside the Pulitzers," *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 1999, 26-27.

[7][Quoted in] "Harnessing Computers to Cover the News," *The Forum*, September 1993, 7.

[8]Anthony Smith, *Goodbye, Gutenberg* (New York: Oxford Press, 1980), xii.

[9]DeFleur, *Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting*, 22.

[10]Ibid., vii

[11]Ibid.

[12]See, for example, Philip Meyer, "Discourse Leading to Solutions: Defining Public Journalism," *IRE Journal* 18, no. 6 (1995): 3-5.

[13]Teresa Leonard, "The State of CAR as Seen from The News & Observer," in *When Nerds and Words Collide: Reflections on the Development of Computer Assisted Reporting* (St. Petersburg, FL: The Poynter Institute, 1999), 32

[14]The role of the computer in the 1952 election is recounted in Harry Wulforst, *Breakthrough to the Computer Age* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982), 161-171.

[15]The news magazine's early use of computers is cited in "A Computer Reporter," *Newsweek*, 26 August 1968, 78-80.

[16]Philip Meyer, *The New Precision Journalism*, 18.

[17]Philip Meyer, "The People Beyond 12th Street: A Survey of Attitudes of Detroit Negroes After the Riot of 1967," *Detroit Free Press* reprint, 1967.

[18]*Newsweek*, "A Computer Reporter," 78.

[19]John McMullan, "A New Concept is Born," *Miami Herald,* 15 December 1968, Sec. A, p. 25.

[20]Clarence Jones, "Computer Reveals Patterns of Dade Crime," *Miami Herald*, 15 December 1968, Sec. A, p.1.

[21]Making claims of "first" is always hazardous, but precision journalism pioneer Philip Meyer contends the *Herald* is justified in claiming its "place in history" (quoting from private correspondence from Meyer to *Herald* Associate Editor Gene Miller, 7 February 1992, letter in Meyer's personal files.) Meyer says he has never been challenged when, in numerous public forums, he has repeated the assertion that computer-assisted reporting began with the *Herald* series. As noted above, the *Herald* series has largely gone unnoticed in accounts of the early years of computer-assisted reporting, though DeFleur cites Jones as the apparent first journalist to use computers to analyze public records (*Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting*, 74). In addition, Barbara Semonche listed the series as a pioneering work in her chronology of computers in investigative reporting (*News Media Libraries: A Management Handbook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1993), 364).

[22]For a discussion of the cold reception given many innovations, see Albert Bandura, *Self-efficacy: The Exercise of Control* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1997), 72-75. Also consider Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 4th ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1995).

[23]As Clarence Jones explains in private correspondence, "Our original goal was to look for the ways that criminal cases were rigged. We knew that one technique was to have the case re-assigned to a judge who could be bribed or manipulated in some other way. We knew that an outside attorney was often brought into cases that were fixed. His fee included the money that would be spread among those involved in the fix. I was looking for common threads – is the case flagged by the original booking officer? The bondsman? If a certain officer makes the arrest, what percentage of his cases wind up before the same judge, defying the laws of chance in a blind filing system? Our original goal failed because the percentage of fixed cases was not statistically significant." Jones to author in e-mail letter, 19 May 1998.

[24]This account of how the 1968 series was conceived, developed and accomplished is based on interviews with the principal staffers involved in the crime project. In addition, information is drawn from the newspaper series, advertisements, correspondence, *Herald* library files, and other primary sources.

[25]McMullan, "A New Concept." Sec. A, p. 25.

[26]"Meet Author & Media Coach Clarence Jones" [biographical review on-line] (Video Consultants, Inc., accessed 3 February 1998); available from http://winning-newsmedia.com/Services.htm; Internet.

[27]Jones, "Computer Reveals Patterns," Sec. A, p. 1; idem, telephone interview by author, 22 April 1998.

[28]"Cards Scanned by the Thousands," *Miami Herald,* 15 December 1968, Sec. A, p. 24.

[29]McMullan, "A New Concept is Born," Sec. A, p. 25.

[30]Ibid.

[31]McMullan, "A New Concept is Born," Sec. A, p. 25; Clarence Jones, e-mail letter to author, 19 May 1998.

[32]McMullan, "A New Concept is Born," Sec. A, p. 25.

[33]Clarence Jones, telephone interview with author, 9 March 1998.

[34]"Meet our newest reporting team" [advertisement], *Editor & Publisher*, 26 Nov. 1968, 1.

[35]Jones, "Computer Reveals Patterns," Sec. A, p. 24.

[36]Jones, "Computer Reveals Patterns," Sec. A, p. 24.

[37]"Do Scales Tip Against The Poor?" *Miami Herald*, 16 December 1968, Sec. A, p. 1.

[38]Jones, "Compurer Reveals Patterns," Sec. A, p. 24.

[39]"Women in Crime: Sex, Games And Murder are Specialties," *Miami Herald*, 16 December 1968, Sec. A, p..24.

[40]Clarence Jones, "Dade War on Crime: Uncoordinated," *Miami Herald*, 22 December 1968, Sec. C, p. 1.

[41]Jones, "Dade War on Crime," Sec. C, pp. 1, 8.

[42]McMullan, "A New Concept Is Born," Sec. A, p. 25. The direct quotations were made in the news article.

[43]McMullan, "A New Concept Is Born," Sec. A, p. 25.

[44]Clarence Jones, telephone interview by author, 22 April 1998. *Herald* library files show thar Jones won awards for his work the year preceding and following the crime series, but none for his work in 1968. E-mail correspondence from Elisabeth Donovan, *Herald* Research Editor, to Barabara Semonche, Library director, School of Communication, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 29 April 1998. No mention of the *Herald's* pioneering work was made in the *Columbia Journalism Review* in the year following the crime series.

[45]Semonche, *News Media Libraries,* 364. Also see DeFleur, *Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting*, 74-76.

[46]Juanita Greene, "The Cat: Kiss of Death Is on Him," *Miami Herald,* 17 December 1986, Sec. A, p 1.

[47]John McMullan, telephone interview by author, 22 April 1998.

[48]"Cards Scanned by the Thousands," 15 December 1968, Sec. A, p. 24.

[49]Jones, "Dade War on Crime," 22 December 1968, Sec. C, p. 1.

[50]Clark Lambert, telephone interview by author, 28 May 1998.

[51]McMullan, "A New Concept Is Born," Sec. A, p. 25.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Shawn McIntosh, "CAJ's Dirty Secrets." *Quill*, September 1993, 23.

[54]John McMullan, telephone interview by author, 22 April 1998.

[55]Clark Lambert, telephone interview by author, 5 May 1998.

[56]Clarence Jones, e-mail letter to author, 19 May 1998

[57]DeFleur, "Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting," 77.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Meyer, *The New Precision Journalism*, 194.

[60]Bruce Garrison, *Successful Strategies,* 8.

[61]Stan Stoffin, *et al.*, "Online Databases and Newspapers: An Assessment of Utilization and Attitudes," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, San Antonio, 1987 (cited in Margaret DeFleur and Lucinda Davenport, "Innovation Lag: Computer-Assisted Classrooms Vs. Newsrooms," *Journalism Educator* 48 (Summer 1993): 27).

[62]Friend, "Daily Newspaper Use of Computers," 66.

[63]Randy Reddick, "FIDO Net Made Me Do It," in *When Nerds and Words Collide: Reflections on the*

Development of Computer Assisted Reporting (St. Petersburg, FL: The Poynter Institute, 1999), 47.

[64]Wendy Swallow Williams, "Computer-Assisted Reporting and the Journalism Curriculum," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 52 (Spring 1997): 67.

[65]By 1997, 95 percent of large newspapers were engaged in computer-assisted reporting and smaller newspapers were scrambling to catch up with the CAR-driven big dailies (Bruce Garrison, "Newspaper Size as a Factor in Use of Computer-assisted Reporting," a paper presented to the Communication Technology and Policy Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication annual meeting, Baltimore, Augusr 1998). Reporters have been going on-line to gather the news at even a more rapid rate. A 1998 survey by Steven Ross and Don Middleberg indicated that 98 percent of newspapers and magazines had Internet access ("Media in Cyberspace" [fifth annual national survey on-line] (Middleberg & Associates, N.Y., New York, accessed 3 March 1999); available from http://www.middleberg.com/Keyfindings.htm).

[66]Brant Houston, "Changes in Attitudes, Changes in Latitudes," in *When Nerds and Words Collide: Reflections on the Development of Computer Assisted Reporting* (St. Petersburg, FL: The Poynter Institute, 1999), 7.

[67]Debbie Wolfe, "Viva the Evolution," in *When Nerds and Words Collide: Reflections on the Development of Computer Assisted Reporting* (St. Petersburg, FL: The Poynter Institute, 1999), 51.

[68]Joel Simon and Carol Napolitano, "We're All Nerds Now: The Digital Revolution is Reaching Warp Speed," *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1999, 19.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Scott Maier, "Digital Diffusion in the Newsroom: The Uneven Advance of Computer-Assisted Reporting," *Newspaper Research Journal* 22 (Spring 2000): 101.

[71]Bruce Garrison, *Online Information Use in Newsrooms*. A paper presented to the University of Luton Crearivity and Consumption Conference, Luton, UK, 29-31 March 1999.

[72]"A Computer Repotter," 80.

[73]Simon and Napolitano, "We're All Nerds Now," 22. Also see Meyer, "Discourse Leading to Solutions," 3-5.

[74]Simon and Napolitano, "We're All Nerds Now," 22.

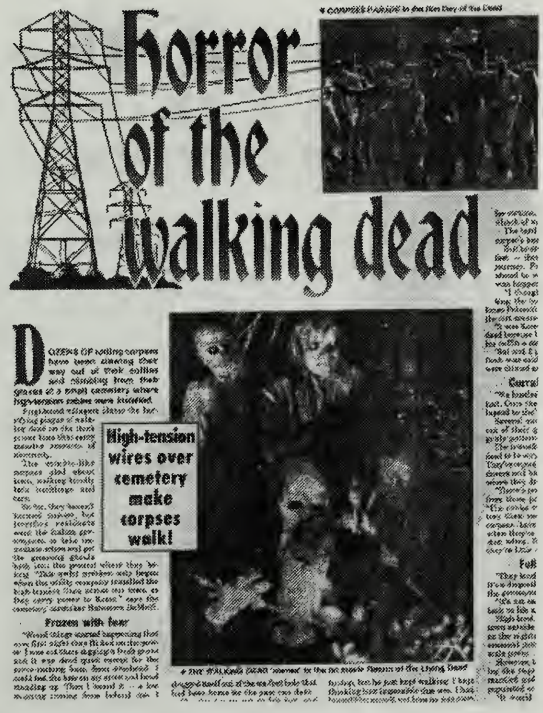
[75]In a 1998 survey, leading trainers and practitioners of computer-assisted reporting estimated that less than 10 percent of daily newspaper reporters routinely use database or statistical software. Maier, "Digital Diffusion."

[76]John McMullan, telephone interview by author, 22 April 1998.

A Wake-Up Call for Zombies: The Telegraph As Wayward Spark

By Paulette D. Kilmer
University of Toledo

As telegraph lines criss-crossed the nation, persistent rumors spread that electricity seeped from the wires. In one popular story, a horse bumped the pole and fell into a coma that lasted as long as the teller's imagination decreed. The editor of the Zanesville, Ohio, *Tri-Weekly Courier* explained that stray voltage forced the wagon wheel to strike the telegraph pole. In *Old Wires and New Waves: The History of the Telegraph*, Alvin F. Harlow suggests these exaggerated tales were inspired by actual incidents of folks sustaining mild shocks from wires and poles.


Horror of the walking dead

High-tension wires over cemetery make corpses walk!

The Sun, January 12, 1993

The image of the telegraph as the spark of life gone awry fits into folklore traditions reminiscent of Mary Shelley's classic, *Frankenstein*, or

the Modern *Prometheus*. The moral — those who covet God's power suffer horrible repercussions — taps the archetypal narrative pattern of the dead being revived by lightening. In Shelley's gothic novel, Dr. Frankenstein learns too late that devastation befalls those who attempt to reduce nature to processes humans can control. Wherever telegraph wires went, folks worried that escaped electricity would induce cholera, stunt growth or even rejuvenate the dead.

In the 1990s, despite the rise of digital technology and the Super Information Highway, some still claimed electricity could regenerate the deceased. The *Sun*, a supermarket tabloid, warned readers on January 12, 1993, that "dozens of rotting corpses" had clawed their way out of the coffins . . . at a small cemetery where high-tension cables were installed." Apparently, a power surge had animated the cadavers, prompting them to lurch out of their graves and stumble downtown.

Unlike the creatures in the *Night of the Living Dead* movies, the *Sun* zombies were too weak to eat the living and fell apart when struck with a shovel. They posed no threat beyond disrupting garden parties, frightening babies and attracting flies. This 20th century story reflects the very real fear people have expressed concerning the possible harm mega-voltage transformers might cause the living.

Just as brash Dr. Frankenstein acted without thinking about the moral consequences of creating a monster, the giant corporation erected the transformers in the cemetery without considering the grim repercussions. This tabloid exposé echoes the collective wisdom about machines gone amok, crises wrought by progress, government inefficiency and cold-blooded Big Business. The "news" item repeats archetypal messages tied to the essential American value — individualism — and reassures readers that technology can only solve mechanical problems; it cannot speak to matters of the heart that require compassion, ingenuity or imagination.

The Internet Moment and Past Moments: Four Points of View

By Jon Bekken, William J. Leonhirth, Ford Risley and Andie Tucher

The following four articles were adapted from a panel discussion under the above title, presented at the 1998 were convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) in Baltimore. The panel was sponsored by Jhistory, an Internet group of journalism historians.

The Internet is exploding into popular culture, becoming both a viable media system and a topic of conversation and debate. In what ways do the questions and concerns raised about the Internet resemble times when past media systems made their grand entrances?

Being a historian means going through life accompanied by regular feelings of *deja vu*. For example, when we read that Vice President Al Gore said the Internet means that "networks — not hierarchies" will define government in the 21st century . . . working across agency boundaries — blurring them into virtual organizations," we recall a similar claim about an earlier medium: "What has become of space?" asked the *New York Herald* in 1844, the telegraph's first year. Providing its own answer, the paper announced it had been "annihilated."[1]

When we read about chat rooms and online dating, we recall Lee de Forest's amorous use of the new medium of his day, radio: "Won't you marry me at once?" Lee de Forest tapped out in Morse code to the woman who would become his first wife.[2] Finally, when we hear about how computers shall isolate us, we might think of E. B. White's warning about television, six decades ago:

> Television will enormously enlarge the eye's range, and, like radio, will advertise the Elsewhere. Together with the tabs, the

> mags, and the movies, it will insist that we forget the primary and the near in favor of the secondary and the remote . . . . A door closing, heard over the air . . . will emerge as the real and the true; and when we bang the door of our own cell or look into another's face the impression will be of mere artifice.[3]

Fortunately, we escape our cells at least once a year and we come together to discuss these issues. The following articles are inspired by a series of exchanges over Jhistory and a panel discussion at the 1998 AEJMC convention in Baltimore. How do the births of past media systems resemble the Internet moment, in which and with which we are living now?

Ford Risley, an assistant professor in the College of Communication at Penn State and an online journalist turned press historian compares the emergence of the telegraph with that of the Internet. "Whereas the telegraph . . . made newspapers for the first time timely," Risley writes, "the Internet has made many newspapers timely again." Risley looks at the strengths and pitfalls of such timeliness. Jon Bekken of Suffolk University, an expert on labor and press history, notes the roadblocks to setting up a traditional media outlet for a labor cause: tensions of editors versus their unions, vision versus fundraising, and freedom of expression versus a focused message. Then Bekken looks at how the Internet transforms these issues.

William J. Leonhirth, Texas A & M, examines a period nearly 30 years ago when people were looking ahead to the promise of a "wired nation," connected not by the Internet, but by cable television. Finally, Andie Tucher, of Columbia University and author of *Froth & Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murderer in America's First Mass Medium*, argues that the bombast, enthusiasm and irresponsibility of Matt Drudge, the Internet gossip, have roots in the journalism of another upstart, James Gordon Bennett. Together these pieces go well beyond noting echoes in the past. They provide a deep structural analysis of earlier innovations. And they show ways in which these innovations might inform how we can look at today's Internet moment.

Endnotes

[1]E. J. Dionne, Jr. "Reinventing Reinvenring" *The Washington Post*, April 28, 1998, p. A17; *New York Herald*, June 4, 1844.

[2]Tom Lewis, *Empire of the Air: The Men who Made Radio*. New York: Edward Burlingame Books, 1991, 47.

[3]E. B. White, "One Man's Meat," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1938, p. 553.

Newspapers and Timeliness: The Impact of the Telegraph and the Internet

By Ford Risley

In the mid-19th century, newspapers seized upon the telegraph to publish the latest news. One hundred and fifty years later, the Internet has made many newspapers timely again. This new race for news via the Internet, however, is creating its own set of problems. Modern day journalists can learn some lessons on the use of new technology from their predecessors in the 19th century.

In 1846, America was in the midst of a war with Mexico and newspaper readers clamored for news of the fighting. Back east, newspaper editors were frustrated that one of the century's great inventions, the telegraph, was not being used more to get the latest news in their papers.

When the Mexican War began, only about 130 miles of telegraph line existed. There was not even a line between the nation's capitol and New York. As a result, war dispatches from Washington to New York had to take a circuitous route using all available means, including train and horse.[1] Finally, in June 1846, the *New York Herald* was able to announce with great satisfaction the completion of the line between the two cities and "The First Flash of the Lightning Line." The newspaper noted, "We received the first flash — the first intelligence, at an early hour last evening — 18 hours in advance of the mail. The completion is of vast importance. It enables us to give in the morning *Herald* the interesting intelligence from the Rio Grande, one whole day in advance of the old dog-trot ways of receiving news from the South."[2]

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Some 150 years later, another news event in the Southwest gripped the nation with the trial of Timothy McVeigh, charged in the bombing of the federal courthouse in Oklahoma City. *The Dallas Morning News* got a scoop allegedly implicating McVeigh in the crime and used its World Wide Web site to break the story: the first time a major newspaper had braved to do that. The Web site "gave us the opportunity to be as immediate as CNN would be," Ralph Langer, the paper's editor at the time, said. "If CNN completed that story at 3 p.m. that afternoon, they wouldn't wait until 5:30 a.m. the next morning."[3] Observers called the *News* story "unprecedented" and "a landmark . . . a major stop in the evolution of newspapers. This is literally the first time in 25 years that a major paper has so dramatically changed the form in which it operated."

With these two examples as a backdrop, this essay draws some parallels between the introduction of the telegraph and the Internet, specifically focusing on what the two technologies have meant in terms of timeliness for newspapers. Whereas in the 19th century the telegraph made newspapers timely for the first time, in the late 20th century the Internet made many newspapers timely again. This new race for news via the Internet, however, is creating its own set of problems. There are some historical lessons to be learned.

Racing for News

Before the telegraph, the idea of news as something that was "new" was anything but true in America. Newspapers of the colonial and early national periods printed the news as it arrived by mail or word of mouth, days and often weeks after an event occurred. That began to change in the 19th century as a series of developments — the pony express, steam-powered ships, and the railroad — drastically cut the time it took to send information, including news. Then came the telegraph, generally regarded, as one observer put it, as "this most remarkable invention of this most remarkable age."[4]

Instantaneous communication provided by the "wonder wire" or "lightning lines," as the telegraph was often known, was widely heralded, not the least by newspapers. Newspapers referred variously to "this extraordinary discovery" or "that almost superhuman agency." "The events of yesterday throughout the entire land will be given, as we now give the occurrences at home, today," proclaimed the *Philadelphia North American*.[5] And Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican* declared,

> Nothing can be more evident to the public, and nothing certainly is more evident to publishers of newspapers than

> there is a great deal more news nowadays than there used to be . . . The increase of facilities for transmission of news brought in a new era. The railroad car, the steamboat, and the magnetic telegraph have made neighborhoods among widely dissevered states, and the Eastern Continent is but a few days' journey away. These active and almost miraculous agencies have brought the whole civilized world in contact. The editor sits in his sanctum, and his obedient messengers are the lightning and the fire.[6]

Reflecting on the extraordinary developments that had been capped off by the invention of the telegraph, the *New York Herald* noted that distance, or "space" in the words of the *Herald*, seemed to have been "annihilated."[7]

An increasingly competitive American press, especially New York's so-called penny papers, used the telegraph to their every advantage. News content was selling penny papers. Papers had to give people the latest news to convince them to buy an issue and thus the scoop or "news beat," as it was often called, became a goal. None other than Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* put it succinctly when he said, "The public are apt to take the paper which has the first news."[8]

Even before the telegraph, penny editors had spent great amounts of money on various ways to get the news faster: pony express riders, chartered schooners, even carrier pigeons. The telegraph, however, redefined timeliness. The *Herald* proclaimed, "This sheet presents such a specimen of journalism as has never before been equaled, from the creation of the world up to this morning in the history of mankind. It is . . . enough to . . . bring us actually to believe that either the end of the world or the beginning of the millennium is at hand."[9]

The Mexican War of 1846-1848, in particular, showed the utility of the telegraph for newspapers and ensured its adoption by the press. Frederick Hudson, business manager of the *Herald* and later a newspaper historian, proclaimed, "With the brilliant conflicts on the Rio Grande, the Telegraphic Era of the Press really began. What a commencement! What a revolution!"[10] By the eve of the Civil War, the telegraph had dramatically transformed newspapers. It inaugurated both the modern conception of news and the methods of news gathering. The telegraph helped newspapers change from party organs to disseminators of news. News became more important than opinion for many papers, especially those in large cities. Moreover, the news had to be provided quickly. Simon N. D. North, in his 1884 census report on the state of the American press, concluded: "The influence of the telegraph upon the journalism of the United States has been one of equalization. It has placed the

provincial newspaper on a par with the metropolitan journal so far as the prompt transmission of news — the first and always to be the chiefest function of journalism is concerned."[11]

Of course, in the frenzy to get news faster, problems arose. Inaccurate, incomplete stories too often were rushed onto the wire. And too often, the sensational was emphasized. As Daniel Czitrom has pointed out, the cultural debate over the significance of the telegraph shifted to questions raised by the new journalism being practiced. Observers longed for a deliberative form of journalism that had been practiced before the introduction of the telegraph.[12] Press critic W. J. Stillman charged the telegraph with having "transformed journalism from what it once was, the periodical expression of the thought of the time, the opportune record of the questions and answers of contemporary life, into an agency for collecting, condensing and assimilating the trivialities of the entire human existence. In this chase for the days' accidents we still keep the lead, as in the consequent neglect and oversight of what is permanent and therefore vital in its importance to the intellectual character."[13]

Internet Levels Field

By the late 20th century, newspapers had lost the advantage of immediacy, first to radio and then to television news. Yet publishers had not given up, and some companies, like their penny press predecessors, began experimenting with ways to combine electronic communication with the printed word. Then came the Internet and, in particular, the World Wide Web. With its ease of use and generally low cost, here was a way for newspapers to reach readers quickly. Led by such Internet news pioneers as the Mercury Center and NandoNet, more newspapers began experimenting with online versions of their printed products.

One of the first big stories to show the power of the Internet for news organizations was the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995. Using their Internet sites, newspapers could get the news to readers quickly and also provide more depth than they had ever been to do before. The year 1995 was when the Internet became a household word to many people. *Newsweek* magazine declared 1995 to be the "Year of the Internet."[14]

By 1997 when Timothy McVeigh was scheduled to go on trial for his part in the Oklahoma City bombing, more than 500 newspapers in America had Web sites. Still, it was clear that many newspapers were unsure exactly what to do with this new technology. Although some papers had used their Web sites to provide the latest on developing news, most newspaper sites were little more than jazzed up versions of their print editions. Stories more often than not were simply dumped into their

Web sites with a few links added. Critics decried this practice and a new term, "shovelware," entered the vocabulary to describe this recycled news.[15]

Then on February 28, 1997, the *Dallas Morning News* used its Web site to break a story detailing statements alleged to have been made by Timothy McVeigh about the Oklahoma City bombing. It marked the first time a major newspaper had published an exclusive on the Internet before committing it to paper. The *News*, in effect, scooped itself. And within an hour, CNN, the *Washington Post*, MSNBC, and other media outlets were announcing the story and offering links to the *News* site.

Headlines proclaimed the *News* story, "The scoop heard 'round the Internet" and declared "Journalism changed forever." Observers hailed the decision by the *News*. Reader representative Jean Otto of the *Rocky Mountain News* proclaimed, with an obvious hint of glee, that, "The playing field on which print and electronic journalism have been slugging it out for many decades was suddenly leveled."[16] Some observers noted the *Morning News* had crossed an important boundary. *Washington Post* media critic Howard Kurtz said, "It's an extraordinary event that two or three years from now will probably seem utterly routine."

Then came 1998 and President Bill Clinton's affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Matt Drudge broke the story on his Internet site by leaking details that *Newsweek* magazine had delayed a story on Lewinsky, the former White House intern. *Newsweek* then ran its story on its Web site, five days before the magazine's print version appeared on news stands.[17] For months after the story broke, the press climbed over one another to get the latest on the story. Here was a chance to take advantage of the immediacy of the Internet. Alas, the results were largely disappointing.

The Wall Street Journal published a story on its Web site that a White House steward had told the grand jury he had caught Clinton and Lewinsky together.[18] When the story was vehemently denied, the *Journal's* print edition backpedaled. The *Dallas Morning News* published on its Web site an article about the President and Monica Lewinsky that it had to retract several hours later. The newspaper republished its article — with modifications — after its sources changed their statements.[19] The editor of the *Morning News* later called the incident "a flat-out mistake" and said, "Everyone involved was deeply concerned about the damage to our credibility."[20]

Examples such as these led critics to decry the abuse of the Internet by the media. Critics complained the press had rushed stories on the sexual allegations against Clinton without checking their facts. "The

digital age does not respect contemplation," complained James M. Naughton, executive director of the Poynter Institute.[21] "The press moved too fast from the bullet to the atom bomb," said Joan Konner, writing in *Columbia Journalism Review*.[22]

Carefulness Required Today

From these examples, some of the parallels between the telegraph and the Internet and what they have meant to newspapers should be apparent. Two problems also are readily clear.

First, the media more often than not becomes breathless upon the arrival of new technology. "No other public teacher lives so wholly in the present as the Editor," bragged Greeley, one of the 19th century's best-known editors.[23] No other is as enchanted by the present either, as historian Mitchell Stephens has rightly pointed out.[24] The jaded observer would say this is little more than a desire by the press to promote its news product because "change" sells. But others would argue there is also a real desire to improve the product.

The problem is that journalists become so enamored with new media that they abuse it. They forget the technology is simply a tool for news delivery and gathering. Journalists need to be especially mindful today because the damage can be far greater when stories are rushed onto the Internet without proper reporting. The nature of the Web — its immediacy, its depth, its multimedia — means that any abuse has the potential of inflicting greater harm. Moreover, other news organizations can pick up the story and simply provide links on their World Wide Web sites to the original story. Suddenly, the hometown paper becomes a local newspaper for anyone in the world with access to the Internet.

We should not get carried away and simply dismiss the Internet as critic Tom Shales did, calling it "the new electronic Tower of Babel."[25] But we should also be mindful of what historian Daniel Boorstin once wrote. Commenting in the 1960s — before the widespread adoption of cable television and before the Internet burst on the scene — he observed that because of the pace of news reporting, Americans had come to demand an unrealistic level of novelty. "We expect new heroes every season," Boorstin wrote, "a literary masterpiece every month, a dramatic spectacular every week, a rare sensation every night."[26]

Endnotes

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[2]*New York Herald*, 7 June 1846.

[3]Allen R. Myerson, "With Printing Deadline Far Away, Dallas Paper Scooped Itself Online," *New York Times*, 3 March 1997, D6.

[4]As quoted in Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 3.

[5]*Philadelphia North American*, 1 March 1847.

[6]*Springfield Republican*, 17 July 1844.

[7]*New York Herald*, 4 June 1844.

[8]As quoted in Frederick Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, From 1690-1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 541.

[9]*New York Herald*, 5 Jan. 1848.

[10]Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 600.

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[12]Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind.* 18-21.

[13]W. J. Stillman, "Journalism and Literature," *Atlantic Monthly* 68 (November 1891), 694.

[14]Allan Sloan, "The Year of the Internet," *Newsweek*, 25 December 1995, 39.

[15]Mark Thalhimer, "Hi-Tech News or Just 'Shovelware,'" *Media Studies Journal* (Winter 1994), 41-51.

[16]Jean Otto, "Confession coverage puts press in spotlight," *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 March 1997, B9.

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[19]Howard Kurtz, "Dallas Paper's Story Traveled Far Before Being Shot Down," *Washington Post*, 28 January 1998, D1.

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[21]James M. Naughton, "This Just In! And This!" *New York Times*, 1 February 1998, D17

[22]As quoted in Jack Shafer, "The Web Made Me Do It," *New York Times Magazine*, 15 February 1998, 24.

[23]As quoted in Richard Kluger, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald and Tribune* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 50.

[24]Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 273-275.

[25]Tom Shales, "TV Pundits in Bed with Tabloids? Say it Ain't So," *Washington Post*, 26 January 1998, C1.

[26]Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), 4.

Fighting To Reclaim Lost Ground: The Internet and the Campaign for a National Labor Daily

By Jon Bekken

Many in the labor movement have long seen communications as an essential component of their efforts, though efforts in the 1920s to establish a national news service, newspaper and radio network were ultimately unsuccessful. The advent of the Internet has revived these hopes, with unions and labor activists establishing a wide range of online services to meet both internal and external communication needs. However, these projects are still struggling with problems of finance and accountability that undermined their predecessors' efforts 70 years ago.

In the aftermath of the first World War, many in the American labor movement saw opportunities for a revitalized, expansive labor movement — and saw communications as an essential component of that project. Central labor councils in Butte, Montana, New York City and Seattle, Washington, published daily newspapers, while several other labor councils launched weekly papers as a first step towards that end. Labor and other progressive editors came together to launch a cooperative news agency, Federated Press. The American Federation of Labor Executive Council agreed in 1920 to investigate the possibility of establishing a network of daily labor newspapers. The Chicago Federation of Labor launched its own radio station, WCFL, and the labor movement across the country actively fought for access to the airwaves.[1]

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The local labor dailies of the 1920s foundered on problems of finance and accountability. Local labor councils in the United States have always had limited resources at their disposal, and so were unable or unwilling to meet their papers' deficits (inevitable in an era of advertising-supported journalism). But the more critical problem was the tension between aggressive, crusading labor journalism and the sponsors' political and bureaucratic imperatives. Competing political tendencies often co-existed uneasily in the labor movement; any newspaper capable of reaching a broad audience would necessarily step on toes and bring controversial issues to the fore. "Is the editor of a labor paper merely the literary errand-boy of some political chief or union official?" labor editor Norman Thomas asked. Labor papers without some measure of autonomy were "monuments to dullness . . . scarcely more than bulletins of routine party or union news with a few ill-considered, stereotyped editorials and articles."[2]

While the issue of a national daily labor paper was repeatedly raised at American Federation of Labor congresses in the 1920s and in the following decades, AFL officials were never willing to commit the necessary resources or to take the political risk of establishing a medium of communication that would inevitably escape the close oversight AFL officials maintained over their press. Local labor leaders soon pulled back from such ventures as well. While there were several attempts to launch local labor dailies in the 1940s and later, these were typically sponsored either by political parties or, more commonly, by striking newspaper workers trying to draw readers and advertisers away from their targets.[3]

Today most labor papers are tightly controlled by their sponsoring unions, and typically produced by public relations staffers who see their job as selling the leadership's policies, rather than as providing their unions' members with a distinctive working-class voice. The exception is the handful of surviving local labor newspapers, most of which are independently produced by local entrepreneurs (or, in a few cases, local labor activists) and financed by advertising. These independent papers typically (there are, of course, important exceptions) feature a rather dry mix of PR hand-outs from local unions and the AFL-CIO. A recent study of the *St. Louis Labor Tribune* found that more than 40 percent of its articles featured the owner's public relations clients (primarily local politicians and unions); the editor acknowledged that it was the paper's policy to ignore rank-and-file challenges.[4]

Paths to the Internet

The advent of new communications technologies in the 1980s and 1990s has touched off renewed ferment among labor activists, with

attempts to launch a national cable channel devoted to labor programming, development of several listserves and electronic bulletin boards devoted to labor news and debate, and a rich network of Web sites — both official and unofficial. Labor activists have set up a network of independently produced cable programs, often with local union sponsorship, and the California Federation of Labor sent a resolution to the 1993 AFL-CIO Convention calling for the development of a national labor cable channel. But even as the labor movement moves to establish a strong presence in these new media, issues of accountability and sharply contrasting visions of how the labor movement should present itself are once again coming to the surface.[5]

Unions have followed two quite different paths onto the Internet. The first bubbled up from the grassroots, typified by the electronic bulletin board systems (BBSs) and listserves set up by rank-and-file activists, sometimes with nominal support from local unions. Many of the BBSs offered an amazingly rich variety of online research materials and other resources, though technological and other limitations meant that these resources were available only to a handful of activists. Listserves have proved much more successful at enabling labor activists to share news reports and discussions, although many labor organizations have been uncomfortable with the medium's traditions of open discussion. Indeed, in 1993 the Writers Guild of America West shut down its BBS system's public discussion forums when officers decided that criticism of the WGA's executive director had become too harsh.[6]

The second approach relied on public relations departments to create online sites that would replicate more traditional patterns of hierarchical communication. The AFL-CIO and many of its affiliates initially tried to control the medium by setting up their online resources in a restricted members-only section on CompuServe. By 1996 the AFL's CompuServe-based LaborNET claimed 2,500 subscribers. Union organizer Rand Wilson said the federation was deliberately limiting access — "They want to control the information just like everybody else" — while LaborNET's coordinator said the network was aimed at linking low- to mid-level union officials with the AFL's national office. The AFL has since moved to a more accessible Web site, and actively promoted its Executive Pay Watch feature, but the professionally designed site remains one of the most rigidly hierarchical labor sites on the Net. Other unions, such as the United Electrical workers, have set up Web sites that are rich in content and invite workers to join in ongoing campaigns, such as UE's cross-border organizing work.[7]

Several independent projects offer radically different approaches. The Institute for Global Communication's LaborNet (created two years before the AFL venture) has fewer members, but actively encourages participation and exchanges of information and views. Industry-specific conferences are dominated by articles forwarded from mainstream and labor publications, but also include commentaries by rank-and-file workers involved in various disputes. Labor-related lists are archived for those who prefer not to have their email boxes flooded with messages. The publicly accessible LaborNet Web site offers extensive links to official and unofficial union sites and sources for labor statistics, as well as to a frequently updated (though far from complete) strike page to which all unionists are invited to contribute.[8]

As early as 1985, a Spanish dockworkers' union proposed the creation of a Europe-wide computer network that would make up-to date information on working conditions, wages, labor contracts, and labor disputes instantaneously available through a network of publicly accessible terminals in union halls and at dock heads throughout Europe. "He who has information has power," the dockworkers explained. "The alternative to the monopolistic accumulation of information is the socialization of information: access to data centres by those . . . about whom information is accumulated . . . Against monopoly, diffusion."[9]

That proposal was well ahead of its time, and well beyond the technical and economic resources available to the rank-and-file dockworkers' organizations to which it was presented. The International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions has come the closest to realizing this vision, linking its Brussels headquarters to a wide variety of commercial databases, and placing its research staff at the disposal of affiliated unions around the world. The federation responds to email and fax queries on safely handling chemical spills, information on employers, and such, as well as disseminating more general information through its Web site, which is also used to assist affiliates in contract negotiations and promote international campaigns.[10]

But labor activists are by no means dependent on established centers. When locked-out dock workers in Liverpool were unable to win effective support from their national union, they took their struggle to the Internet to get their story out and coordinate an international solidarity campaign that, reinforced by personal visits and two international conferences, initiated a series of job actions against shipping lines working the Liverpool ports during the dispute. Operating under the slogan "The

world is our picketline," they used the Internet to track the movements of ships, to distribute information about their struggle, to conduct a debate over the role of their union and the International Transport Workers Federation in the dispute, to report on solidarity actions around the world, and to coordinate an international one-day solidarity strike by dockers around the world. The dockers were defeated after 26 months, but their Web site remains as a testament to rank-and-file efforts to harness the Internet to meet their communication needs and their actions were so effective that shipping lines now monitor union Web sites to more effectively combat such international campaigns.[11]

But most labor sites lack even the sponsorship of a union local; the typical site is initiated by a rank-and-file activist who sees the medium's potential and is determined to harness it for the labor movement. Such projects' independence is both a strength and a weakness. Because most are the initiative of one or two union activists, they rarely have the resources for translation or the support to meet technical failures or to sustain projects during vacations, heavy workloads or burnout. As a result, some of the most promising labor sites regularly go dark.

Moreover, an Internet culture of "openness" sometimes militates against accountability or responsibility. A listserve initially set up to disseminate IWW news (the Industrial Workers of the World was among the earliest unions to establish an Internet presence) quickly became overwhelmed by posts from political parties, automated mailing lists and commercial notices, to the point where less than 5 percent of its content had any relation to the list's ostensible purpose. However, the initiators refused suggestions to install a moderator or other actions to return the list to its original purpose, characterizing them as authoritarian proposals to initiate censorship.

Similarly, the volunteers who set up the IWW's Web site created a public links site where visitors were encouraged to add links to their favorite sites. When some neo-Nazis added their sites to the list, it took a couple of weeks of heated debate before the operators agreed to remove the links.[12] Few of the more impressive labor Web sites operate under any accountability, and it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between unions' official positions and actions and the enthusiasms of their supporters. But the solution is clearly not to centralize control in the hands of the public relations functionaries who have created some of the most useless (if often graphically flashy) sites on the Web. Rather, I would suggest that the labor movement return to the cooperative and collective structures that emerged in the foreign-language labor press in the early decades of this century for an example of how the tensions between initiative and accountability might be bridged.[13]

Sharp Decline Continues

Coming full circle, the international labor press continues its sharp decline. Few labor papers are published for a general audience, and while many labor activists (and, in 1990, the communications director of the clothing and textile workers union) continue to call for establishing national labor dailies, cable channels, radio networks, community media centers, and other information programs, mainstream labor institutions are cutting back on such programs, not expanding them.[14] In his book on the labor movement and the Internet, labor educator Eric Lee calls for a global labor news service to be distributed over the Internet. "A daily labour press helps create a *community* of ideas and feelings among its readers," Lee writes. "It would be the best organizing tool ever in the hands of the international trade union movement, and should be launched without delay." He suggests that such a service could be launched for no more than international labor organizations presently spend on printed publications, and could also serve as a springboard for an Internet-distributed global labor radio network.[15]

Thus far, no union has taken up this call. However, in March 1998, Lee launched LabourStart, a Web homepage that features a dozen or more headlines (with links to more complete stories) on the day's international labor news, a complete archive, links to a variety of online labor resources, and a link to his Labour Website of the Week. The news reports are an uneasy amalgam of rank-and-file accounts, official union reports, and articles from wire services and mainstream news organizations, and the site sometimes goes stale when Lee is on the road, but it offers an unparalleled compendium of labor-related news and resources. A similar project (again by a single labor activist) in Canada gathers a rich assemblage of Canadian labor news, though it has recently scaled back from a daily to a weekly service. During the recent Australian dockworkers' dispute, the Maritime Union of Australia put up an impressive Web site, but a rank-and-file activist created a truly extraordinary site, packed with information from other media and first-person accounts; a wealth of material far richer than any one newspaper could hope to make available.[16]

Significant obstacles stand in the way of strengthening the labor movement's online capacities, not the least of which are the economic and technical barriers which keep most workers off line or restrict to access through their worksites.[17] As employers increasingly adopt policies and screening programs restricting employees' access to the Internet, such access may become even more problematic. The Industrial Workers of the World has battled the manufacturers of one program used by many libraries to block access to pornography in order to have its Web site

removed from the list of blocked sites. More significant, in the long run, will be the issues of finance and accountability that have long plagued efforts to sustain working-class media outlets.

The most impressive efforts currently underway are the efforts of committed activists, often with few resources behind them. Vacations, illness or a pressing emergency at their workplace can easily derail such sites. The Internet is littered with long-dormant sites (like the daily labor papers that now exist only on microfilm) that are testimony to their creators' often impressive vision, and to their inability to sustain that vision. That vision has too often been missing among those who control the labor movement's not inconsiderable resources, and those who are committed to labor media tend to favor a public relations model. Balancing the needs of democracy and accountability, and establishing media networks that genuinely engage their communities, remains a difficult challenge — and one that the AFL-CIO shows little sign of being prepared to meet.

Endnotes

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[3]R. Thomas Berner, "Unitypo: The ITU's Editor and Publisher," *American Journalism* 2 (1985): 144-64.

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[6]Kirk Honeycutt, "WGA West deletes its members' modem forum," *The Hollywood Reporter*, 28 April 1993, 1, 15; Linda Foley, "How to navigate the Guild's electronic bulletin board," *The Guild Reporter*, 22 April 1995, 5. Eric Lee, *The Labour Movement and the Internet: The New Internationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1997).

[7]Lee, *The Labour Movement and the Internet*, 105-09. The AFL-CIO's Web site at www.aflcio.org is dominated by official statements and slick promotions, but also includes strike updates and the

Executive Pay Watch. But even this professionally maintained site contains obsolete links, referring those interested in the ongoing dispute with Detroit Newspapers Inc. to the *Detroit Sunday Journal* site, which has not been updated since the paper ceased publication last year. The United Electrical workers site, including a newsletter on Mexican labor, links to progressive unions, and a long out of date chart comparing the number of hours workers in the U.S. and Mexico must work to buy groceries, is at www.ranknfile-ue.org and www.igc.apc.org/unitedelect

[8]www.labornet.org The strike page is a simple table listing the company and union involved, the date the dispute began, and links to related Web sites and email addresses.

[9]Coordinadora, "Information and the Construction of Socialism," trans. Carlos Betancourt and Peter Waterman (International Alternative Ports and Coasts Conference, Hamburg, Germany, 1985; and Haymarket International Labor Conference, Chicago, 1986). Excerpts were published in *Libertarian Labor Review* 17 (1994), 31; the complete text can be found at <www.au.spunk.org/library/pubs/llr>

[10]Peter Waterman, "International Labor Communication by Computer," *The Democratic Communiqué*, Winter 1992, 1, 11-17. The full text was published as "International Labour Communication by Computer: The Fifth International?" (The Hague: Institute of Social Studies) *Working Papers* 129 (1992).

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[12]Much of the discussion over the iww.news list took place in late 1997 and early 1998, and is archived at <www.iww.org>. After a disclaimer was added and the listserver transferred from igc.org to the iww.org server, the volume of postings declined markedly (though it has subsequently rebounded to hundreds of messages per month). This server and Web site is maintained by members of the IWW's San Francisco General Membership Branch, and has never been authorized by the union's General Executive Board or annual convention. The GEB considered demanding that the sponsors withdraw their registration of the iww.org domain in Spring 1995, but a deeply divided Board took no action after several of the more offensive materials were excised from the site and a disclaimer was added.

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Re-Wired: The Internet and Cable Television

By William J. Leonhirth

Predictions in the 1970s and 1980s of an information revolution through the medium of cable television parallels current projections about the benefits of the Internet. These predictions helped to prompt changes in the regulation of cable television and to encourage its installation in urban areas. Promises of greater channel capacity, two-way cable television, and narrowcasting for special-interest groups helped bring these changes. Failure to meet those expectations, along with the financial losses of videotex systems, delayed progress on interactive communication systems until the early 1990s when public use of the Internet increased and the new World Wide Web facilitated its use. Despite these earlier setbacks, cable television with its provision of broadband is now competing to become the dominant provider of online services.

More than 30 years ago, Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson had a vision of the future: "a home communications center where a person works, learns, and is entertained, and contributes to his society by way of communications techniques we have not yet imagined."[1] Although the Internet has begun to realize Johnson's vision, many scholars, industry executives, journalists and government officials in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s contended the medium that would bring this "information revolution" was only a wire away: cable television. Cable television had its origins in efforts to bring broadcast television to areas unable to receive broadcast signals, but its promoters argued that cable television's greater

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channel capacity, ability to "narrowcast," and provision of two-way communication would significantly affect all aspects of society. By 1984, when Congress passed the Cable Communications Policy Act, expectations for cable television, however, had declined to its serving as an alternative for network television programming.

With continuing efforts to promote "broadband," use of cable modems to provide a platform for the Internet and other communication services, and to market "interactive television" systems, these earlier expectations for cable television may be a prologue for the eventual structure of digital communications. Continuing convergence, however, may make one previous medium form indistinguishable from the other. This article examines the rise and fall of expectations for cable television through the early 1980s and compares the expectations for cable in light of the current anticipation of the information revolution the Internet may bring to society.

Unanticipated Results

Both cable television and the Internet are examples of unanticipated results of technology innovations. When the Department of Defense in 1969 created what has become the Internet, few prognosticators of the day could have foreseen the current rush online. The ramifications of cable television were similarly unanticipated. Cable television pioneers in the late 1940s erected master antennas to receive television broadcasting signals and wired homes in their communities to these antennas. These Community Antenna Television Systems (CATVs) received the support of broadcasters since they increased the audiences for programs and advertisers on television stations. As cable television systems attempted to move beyond communities with poor television reception to major broadcast television markets, resistance from the broadcast television industry began to grow. At issue was the ability of cable systems to bring "distant signals" from television stations into communities to create competition for resident stations.

In 1966, the Federal Communications Commission, which reluctantly had taken the authority to regulate cable television, froze development of cable television systems in the nation's 100 largest television markets. The FCC's action came as predictions of an impending "communication revolution" began to intensify. The FCC, in its proposal to reevaluate regulation of cable television in 1968, noted that cable television could offer information services as well as entertainment programming to homes.[2] The National Academy of Engineering's Committee on Telecommunications in 1969 issued a report that listed 16 technologies, including

cable television, that could help to provide solutions to urban problems.[3]

The FCC action came as racial unrest that had helped to fuel urban riots in the 1960s brought questions about the role of the mass media in urban areas and the access of minorities to the media. In its report on civil disorders in 1968, the Kerner Commission did not fault news coverage of the riots, but reported that the mass media had failed to portray adequately the problems of minorities.[4] One solution in the report of the President's Task Force on Communications Policy was promoting cable television as a means to increase access to communications media and to increase the diversity of television offerings.[5] The FCC in its 1970 notice of proposed rule-making on cable television regulations indicated that cable television capabilities could help to reconstitute community.[6]

In 1971 the FCC proposed to end the freeze on development of cable television systems in the nation's 100 largest broadcasting markets. Supporters of the cable industry contended that without expansion into urban areas, the industry could not increase minorities' opportunities for communication access in cities or have the revenue to develop a wide range of new electronic services: home shopping and banking, entertainment on demand, and direct participation in the political process. Broadcasters indicated that "parasitic" competition from cable television systems would undermine the availability of "free" television to the public. In December 1971, the White House brokered a deal to win acquiescence from the affected industries and business groups. In February 1972, the FCC approved a modified plan to end the cable freeze.

In the modified plan, cable television systems could move into the second 50 largest markets, but syndication agreements would prevent the development of cable systems in the top 50 markets. The issue of "distant signals," however, soon became moot. Development of satellite technology and implementation of an "open skies" policy for satellite communications allowed direct satellite transmission of original programming and first-run movies to cable systems.

Newspaper coverage of the period, however, had framed the cable-television-policy debate in terms of whether a cable-led "communications revolution" would proceed from expansion of cable television systems into the nation's 100 largest markets. As envisioned at the time, cable television was to be a two-tier system. One tier would provide entertainment, news and sports programs just as the broadcasting networks did. Another tier on the community level would provide access to education, social services, community organizations and local government. Community residents would be producers as well as recipients of cable programming.

Along with settlement of the issue of importation of distant signals, the FCC in its Third Report and Order in 1972 had required cable

systems to provide the capacity for two-way transmission of signals and those with more than 3,500 subscribers to make available at least one public, education, government, and leased-access channel. Access to the channels would be available on a first-come, first-served basis, and cable systems would have to provide a minimum of five minutes of free production time to each group or individual that used the access channel. The Supreme Court in 1979 invalidated federal requirements for public-access channels.[7]

Reaches "Critical Mass"

Promotion of cable television to address community and social problems had reached a "critical mass" in the early 1970s as the cable industry and government and foundation reports explicated the benefits of a "wired" society.[8] Among these was the report of the Sloan Commission on Cable Communications in 1971.[9] The report's title indicated cable could provide "television of abundance." *The New York Times* summarized the Sloan Commission report as finding that "cable television has the potential to revolutionize the nation's culture, journalism, politics and community needs and services."[10] Ralph Lee Smith, a member of the Sloan Commission staff, helped to popularize the recommendations of the panel with an article, "Wired Nation," published in *The Nation* in 1970.[11] Smith expanded the article into a book with the same title in 1972.[12] The subtitle of the book, "Cable TV: The Electronic Communications Highway," provided a foreshadowing of the proposed "information superhighway" the Internet would bring.

Foundations and government agencies invested in the prospect of a "wired nation." The Center for Policy Research at Columbia University received a grant from the National Science Foundation to study use of cable television for communication and decision making on the community level. *The New York Times* quoted Amitai Etzioni, the center's director, as indicating the study would determine if cable television could be used to "provide neighborhoods with their own TV networks which could be used for community dialogues with elected officials."[13] The study also was to examine use of cable television for instant polling of citizens of the community and for communication among members of a community. The United Church of Christ in 1972 published *Cable Television: A Guide for Civic Action* to increase public involvement in the development, regulation and uses of cable television.[14] Grants from the Ford Foundation ($2.5 million) and the Markle Foundation ($500,000) established the Cable Television Information Center at the Urban Institute to provide

assistance to municipalities in the granting of cable television franchises.[15]

Critics of the excesses of technological hyperbole described these years as the "blue sky" era of the cable television industry.[16] Brenda Maddox in 1972 described "an almost religious faith" in cable television as a mass medium that had united disparate groups in the United States. Maddox noted the optimism about cable services:" The faith is religious in that it begins with something that was once despised — a crude makeshift way of bringing television to remote areas — and sees it transformed over the opposition of powerful enemies into the cure for the ills of modern urban American society."[17] Critics of the promises also found a useful rhyme as a title for their critiques of cable television promises — the cable fable. The *Yale Review of Law and Social Action* in 1972 devoted an entire issue to the "cable fable" to challenge the findings of the Sloan Commission.

Promotion of an "information revolution," however, continued as cable television companies attempted to win urban franchises. With satellite technology, pay cable channels, and squeezing of more channels onto coaxial cables, cable television companies began their bids for cable franchises in the nation's largest cities. Every city needed two-way services as well as greater channel capacity, cable companies contended. Warner Amex's development of Qube in Columbus, Ohio, provided the examples of two-way services that should be available.

All Qube subscribers received a console with five response buttons for program selection or participation in viewer-choice options.[18] Qube provided 30 channels including commercial television stations, community channels, premium pay channels, consumer information, and college courses. Two-way services that were available included fire and security alarms. Two-way options for customers included market testing, picking football plays, judging a boxing match, choosing an ending for a movie, picking a magazine cover, and expressing views on social and political issues.[19]

Cities added requirements for two-way systems and extended channel capacities in their requests for proposals.[20] *Broadcasting* magazine in 1980 noted that municipal franchise requirements included public interest concerns.[21] Analysts again contended cable television could enhance the sense of community: "The medium of cable television itself will transform the social and political processes. It is a technological revolution almost unsurpassed in possible effects and impact."[22]

Within a few years, Warner had won approval to install Qube systems in Cincinnati, Dallas, Houston, St. Louis, Milwaukee and Pittsburgh.[23] Warner initiated a two-way network to serve all its Qube systems in May 1983, but that service ended only a few months later in

1984. Warner had the only commercial two-way television system in operation, but Cox Cable, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, attempted to compete for franchises with its Indax system, which it never succeeded in getting into commercial operation.[24]

Failure to provide those two-way cable television services resulted in threats of litigation from cities and lawsuits from citizens who challenged the franchises.[25] By 1984, cable companies had begun to question the soundness of investments for two-way services: "The mood of the cable industry has changed so much that no cable company would now offer anything other than a basic system in a major city."[26] Warner curtailed its Qube operations in Columbus except for pay-per-view in January 1984 as cable companies sought to find relief from franchise requirements for two-way systems and greater channel diversity.[27]

Cable Deregulated in 1984

Congress in 1984 approved the Cable Communications Policy Act that essentially deregulated the cable industry. Among the provisions of the act was a clause that allowed cable companies to renegotiate franchises that included services that were "commercially impracticable" to provide.[28] The House report on the act blamed both the cities and the cable companies for the failure of cable companies to meet franchise requirements: "Faced with stiff competition for franchises, some cable operators simply overpromised and oversold in the franchise process . . . Cities likewise were caught up in the 'blue sky' potential of cable."[29] For most of the rest of the decade the cable industry, with the closing of Qube and renegotiation of urban franchises, downplayed any involvement with interactive services.[30]

Interactive enthusiasm in the United States, which in the 1970s and 1980s had included the development of videotex systems, remained dormant until the early 1990s when use of the Internet began to move beyond research facilities, online services such as America Online and Prodigy built customer bases, and the Clinton-Gore ticket and eventually the Clinton-Gore administration promoted the development of an "information superhighway." Many of the promotions of the "wired nation" with only a few changes in terminology, replacing cable television with the Internet, would easily have served as promotions for the "information superhighway."

Television-based interactive services, such as two-way cable television and videotex, failed to gain the consumer support that the Internet, particularly Web-based services, already have received in the marketplace.

The Internet, however, has not faced the same regulatory battles that cable television faced. Television was the dominant medium in the United States in the 1970s with more than 90 percent of homes having television service. Cable television was challenging this dominant medium for its audience. Cable television now has won that audience, and the Internet arrived as a consumer service in a much more media-fragmented environment. Cable television also may have eased the regulatory way for the Internet. Government agencies, including the FCC, generally have refrained from Internet regulation.

One major exception has been congressional efforts to regulate online content, but the Supreme Court, so far, has given the Internet the same level of First Amendment scrutiny as the press. Cable television, as the convergence of common-carrier delivery and broadcasting content, created contention about the appropriate level of First Amendment scrutiny for a converged medium that the Internet, the convergence of all previous media forms, is continuing. Congressional efforts to regulate Internet content, however, also are continuing.

What remains to be seen is whether the Internet, as cable television, will fail to realize expectations as a medium for social progress, to reconstitute community or to invigorate democracy. The use of the World Wide Web for e-commerce is overwhelming the Web's uses for academic research and its ability to deal with social issues and problems. Now underway is the development of the Internet2 to provide increased research opportunities. Concentrations of Internet companies are taking the structure of the broadcasting-network model with "portals" that are competing for consumer identification and use.

Cable television supporters in the 1970s and 1980s used the promise of social good to win regulatory battles and franchise decisions. Cable television companies achieved a "wired nation," but the social results were not what had been promised. Similar economic forces now drive the Internet, and cable television's failures provide a model for the social benefits that may result.

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PrinceOfDarkness@NYHerald.com: How the Penny Press Caused the Decline of the West

By Andie Tucher

The advent of a new medium or technology of communication is often — perhaps always — hailed by some as a great breakthrough for democracy, a populist rebellion against the hopelessly archaic powers that be, in terms that sound remarkably similar from one era to the next. Yet a closer look at two iconoclasts who claimed their new media were bringing journalism to the people — James Gordon Bennett, a founder of the penny press of the 1830s, and Matt Drudge, a poster boy for Internet journalism in the 1990s — suggests another remarkably persistent phenomenon among some of those who embrace new media: the delusion that wielding the rhetoric of democracy can free them from actually practicing it.

Turkey buzzard. Prince of darkness. Obscene vagabond, venal wretch, moral pestilence, unprincipled adventurer. Infamous, impudent, insolent, immoral. Those were just a few of the epithets flung at James Gordon Bennett from the moment he published the first issue of his *New York Herald* on May 6, 1835. He was accused of lowering journalistic standards, debasing the public discourse, pandering to the lowest tastes, reveling in the most lurid stories.

He was assaulted and pummeled in the streets half a dozen times. He was the target of an organized boycott. He was sent a mysterious box that turned out to be a bomb. He was constantly sued for libel. His wife and children were harassed and vilified. He was satirized in popular

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fiction, excoriated in private diaries, written up as a local landmark of infamy in city guidebooks. He was, basically, accused of causing the decline of the West.[1]

Some of that he deserved.

Bennett was also called, by contemporaries and later critics, the "ace journalist and editor of America," a "proto-investigative reporter" who "helped introduce the world to the power of journalistic investigation," a crusader "unbending in his defense of all men's natural rights," and a genius to whom Shakespeare, the "great journalist of his time," might aspire to be compared.[2] *He* called *himself* "beyond the possibility of a doubt, the Napoleon of the press in both hemispheres," and declared his paper to be "unquestionably the greatest and mightiest intellectual institution of civilized society in the present century." Yes, he said with his characteristic delicacy, "I feel myself, in this land, to be engaged in a great cause — the cause of truth, public faith and science, against falsehood, fraud, and ignorance . . . . To be a friend of the human race, to support the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, to put down the vulgar aristocracy of fraudulent paper wealth by the noble aristocracy of talent, genius, and civil liberty itself."[3] Basically, the savior of the West.

Much of that he didn't deserve, at least in his earliest years.

For a century and a half people have either adored or abhorred James Gordon Bennett. In fact, many of his champions (and he has had legions) seem to embrace him precisely because he was so roundly hated in his prime. It's what you get for being a revolutionary, they say. Iconoclasts are always hated and feared. He was, they say, a man who stuck a finger into the eyes of the bluebloods, the bluenoses, and the mossbacks. Here was a man who came from nowhere and challenged the way things had always been and the grandees who had always held the power. Here was a man who dared say ordinary citizens deserved an affordable newspaper serving their own interests. Here was a man who attacked the traditional elite press as the tool of the sachems and the nabobs — a man who demanded access to the courts, to Congress, to the homes and haunts of the wealthy, all on behalf of his readers. Here was Jacksonian democracy in all its brawling splendor come to the newspaper press.

But Bennett was actually a great deal more complicated and somewhat less admirable than all that. To suggest just how complicated let me say two words: Matt Drudge.

The Penny Press Finds Its Public Duty

The penny press as it developed in New York in the 1830s bore some striking parallels to the development of Internet journalism, and the

reactions of their lovers and their haters have been similar, too. The first mass medium shattered and shook the prevailing conventions of journalism in ways that were both radical and unsettling. It was among the first exploiters of new technologies and machines like the power press, the telegraph and the railroad. It focused on stories that some call human interest and others call sensational — sports, entertainment, celebrity, scandal, crime. It broke with tradition by refusing the patronage of any political party or faction, and proposed to live or die on advertising and sales revenue alone.

But maybe most important, the cheap press joyfully embraced an egalitarian view of knowledge. Everyone, said the penny editors, even the humblest laborer, had the same rights and obligations as the richest merchant to become an informed citizen and express his or her own opinion about what was going on in the world. In fact, argued the editors, their ferociously independent papers would give readers a much truer picture of the facts and a much firmer basis on which to form their opinions than any of the organs under the control, and therefore the thumb, of the politicians and bankers.

The *Sun* went so far as to say, on June 9, 1836 that in a criminal case its readers had as much right as the jury itself to judge the facts, as well as "to express [their] opinion, whatever it may be . . . This right of the community at large, is the right of every individual." Four days later the *Transcript* sturdily declared that it cared "not a straw for any who withdraw their favor merely because we choose to express fearlessly and honestly our impressions upon a subject of which we have full right to speak, and which we deem it our duty to publicly discuss." And nearly every day, it seems, the *Herald* had something new and combative to say about its devotion to its public duty.

That's what many of the new Internet journalists claim to be doing too: democratizing the press by sidestepping the control of the elite and opening up a universe of information, often raw and unedited, to anyone with a modem. Some of them are indeed doing good, tough reporting based on traditional standards while using interactivity and hypertext in innovative ways. But then there's Matt Drudge, the founder and editor of the Internet gossip sheet *Drudge Report*, whose name became as effective a synecdoche for the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal as "semen-stained dress." While Drudge has often seemed ambivalent over whether or not to call himself a journalist — depending, perhaps, on how the libel suit against him was going — he became a fixture in the journalistic world throughout the entire run of the scandal, scoring everything from a guest appearance on the August *Meet the Press* to his own weekly talk show on the somewhat less august Fox News Channel.[4]

In a widely-reported speech at the National Press Club in Washington on June 2, 1998, Drudge sounded like Bennett taking up arms against the oppressors again. "We have entered an era vibrating with the din of small voices," he told the assembled journalists. "Every citizen can be a reporter, take on the powers that be . . . . The Net gives as much voice to a 13-year-old computer geek like me as to a CEO or speaker of the House. We all become equal."

Like Bennett, Drudge is both loved and hated. He, too, is adored by some for his cheeky, bad-boy iconoclasm. He got lots of applause from those journalists at the Press Club, and his declared fans and boosters run from James K. Glassman, a *Washington Post* columnist and American Enterprise Institute fellow, through Young & Rubicam, the international ad agency that approvingly featured Drudge among its "Eight Trends for '98," to the cheeky, bad-girl iconoclast Camille Paglia, who lauded him as a "bold, entrepreneurial, free-wheeling, information-oriented outsider."[5]

Drudge is also loathed by many others who think he is lowering standards, debasing the public discourse and, since this is now a global society, causing the decline of the North, South, East, *and* West. At a panel discussion on "Privacy and the Press" held at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York in February 1999, Drudge was pummeled by other panelists, including Victor Kovner of Davis, Wright and Tremaine, an attorney who defends news organizations in libel actions. When Kovner commended *Newsweek* for holding back its Lewinsky story for further checking, Drudge challenged him: "So you're the type that would hold back information from the American people?" "Absolutely not," Kovner replied. "I would just advise people to form a belief in the truth of the information before they put it on their Web site."[6]

Bennett, too, thrust himself into the public eye — or under the public nose — with one explosive story. Forever afterwards his supporters have pointed to his coverage of this case as proof of his enterprise, his concern for the little guy, and his willingness to break the establishment's crockery.

The O.J. Case of 1836

The Helen Jewett murder was the O.J. Simpson case of 1836. Early one April morning a young high-class prostitute was discovered dead in her bed, her head slashed by an ax and the bedclothes set on fire. Circumstantial evidence led police to arrest her visitor that night, a young clerk named Richard Robinson. Bennett immediately saw the gold in this story.

He reported that he went to the scene of the crime, boldly demanded entrance to the house, and examined her room, her letters, and her corpse. The latter he described in lurid detail, reserving special attention for the whiteness of her skin and the roundness of her bust. He said he interviewed the madam, Rosina Townsend, a technique that had never been used before.

Soon he was reporting that he sensed a coverup. The evidence was planted, Bennett argued; the real culprit, the madam of the house, had colluded with corrupt police officials to throw the blame on poor, innocent, friendless, penniless Robinson. In a sensational trial, massively covered and vociferously critiqued by the indefatigable *Herald*, the young man was acquitted after less than ten minutes of deliberation. At this point in their telling of the story, Bennett's supporters usually burst forth with a nearly audible "Hurrah!" for the crusading editor whose investigations uncovered a devilish conspiracy and prevented a terrible miscarriage of justice.

There's only one problem. Robinson was guilty, and Bennett knew it.[7]

An Act of Betrayal

Bennett's account of the case, read in isolation, does sound wonderfully convincing — so principled, so painstaking, so innovative. But even a cursory glance at almost any other contemporary source — diaries, letters and other newspaper accounts — makes clear that the only observer of the trial who was retailing that version of the story was Bennett himself. Many New Yorkers, in fact, including Horace Greeley (still an obscure and struggling editor five years away from establishing his *Tribune*), privately or publicly expressed serious doubts about the truth of Bennett's story.[8] A careful analysis of Bennett's own coverage, moreover, shows it was riddled with inconsistencies, omissions and obvious errors, and an exploration of the social and political context of the crime and of the hidden relationships among the main players suggest what was really going on.

Robinson, the defendant, was in fact no friendless scapegoat but the son of a Connecticut legislator. He had a rich, important employer and was represented by the cream of the New York bar. And within a month after the verdict, Bennett himself, Robinson's great champion, was agreeing in print that Robinson had indeed done the evil deed — a change of heart apparently occasioned by the decision of Robinson's employer to stop paying the bribes.

The subtext of the whole story, invisible to most modern commentators, was class. In their fierce competition for readers, all the penny papers

were looking for an angle, a way to distinguish themselves from the crowd. Bennett's way was to shoot for the top. His main rivals, the *Sun* and the *Transcript*, had both been started by labor activists who had formerly been active in the Working Men's movement, and both aimed themselves directly at the working class with their sympathetic coverage of labor issues. Their call for egalitarianism in knowledge was firmly rooted in the radical press. And they got the story right: it was the triumph of powerful men manipulating the system with their money and access.

Bennett's background — and his ambitions — were different. With neither ties to, nor sympathy, for the metropolitan working class, the Scots-born editor wanted a better readership — a more influential readership — a readership from which he could make pots and pots of money. That meant not the laborer but the entrepreneurial middle class, which was clearly becoming the focus of influence, power and money in New York. And that middle class included young Richard Robinson, his family and his employer.

So for the middle class Bennett fashioned a version of the murder story he knew they would like: a nice young man far from home and family gets into a scrape that nearly balloons out of control when he is framed by evil, designing people. This story puts the blame on deviants and lowlifes, not a boy like anyone's son. And it grievously and purposefully betrays the rhetoric of egalitarianism Bennett used every day.

Bennett did make other, more admirable contributions to journalism, of course, and he never again quite matched the excesses of his Jewett coverage; just six years later, when he was presented with another ax-murder, this one committed by Samuel Colt's brother, his journalism about that case came much closer to the methods most journalists have come to value.

But Bennett's conduct in the Jewett case spotlights a real problem that can arise when we confront journalists using the language of democracy and egalitarianism. It's a classic of the profession. Often it's honest. But it's also very resonant, very seductive, hard to counter, and hard to resist.

And as someone who has spent a great deal of time with Bennett, when I heard Matt Drudge say, as he did to the Press Club, "It seems to me the more freedoms we have the better off we are . . . . liberty and freedom is the right way to go" — and then when I saw him use all those freedoms to tell us that Sidney Blumenthal was supposed to be a wife-beater, that the distinguishing characteristic Paula Jones saw on Clinton's genitals was a golden eagle tattoo, that Hillary was about to be indicted, and that Clinton may have had a love child with a black prostitute — maybe Drudge *was* giving power to the people. But maybe he was just being a turkey buzzard.

Endnotes

[1]On Bennett generally, see: James Crouthamel, *Bennett's "New York Herald" and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989); Oliver Carlson, *The Man Who Made News: James Gordon Bennett* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942); and [Isaac C. Pray], *Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and his Times, By a Journalist* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855).

[2]Carlson, *Man Who Made News*, x; Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News from the Drum to the Satellite* (New York: Viking, 1988), 245, 242; Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 65; Pray, *Memoirs*, 325-26.

[3]"Napoleon of the press," *Herald*, 7 November 1842; "I feel myself..." quoted in Pray, *Memoirs*, 267.

[4]Fox fired Drudge in November 1999 after a dispute over content; Drudge claimed censorship but Fox executives were said to be dismayed by the 30% decline in his ratings from the previous year. See Howard Kurtz, "Fox Threatens Matt Drudge With Lawsuit Over Walkout," *Washington Post*, 17 November 1999, C1.

[5]James K. Glassman, "Matt Drudge, E-Journalist," *Washington Post*, 9 June 1998, A15; Young & Rubicam in *PR Newswire*, 18 December 1997; "Ask Camille," *Salon.com*, 1 September 1998 (http://www.salonmagazine.com/col/pagl/1998/09/01pagl2.html).

[6]Quoted in Cynthia Cotts, "Press Clips: Libel Bible," *Village Voice*, 10 February 1999. On Drudge generally see David McClintick, "Town Crier for the New Age," *Brill's Content*, November 1998, 113-127; and Steven Brill, "Is Drudge Dead?" *Brill's Content*, March 1999, 24.

[7]The following argument is developed in Andie Tucher, *Froth and Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax-Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), pt. 1. The murdered woman's name was variously rendered in the press as Ellen and Helen.

[8]Greeley to B.F. Ransom, 9 May 1836; Horace Greeley Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Section, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, New York Public Library.

Guest Essay

Journalism and Technology

By James W. Carey

Twenty-six years after his seminal article, "The Problem of Journalism History," James W. Carey argues that historians still conflate journalism, technology and communication.

Why does journalism continue to get lost in journalism history? We have histories of the technology of journalism, of the media of journalism, of the great men, and now great women, who have shaped and dominated journalism, of the Supreme Court decisions that have defined and protected journalism; we have histories, in short, of everything about journalism except the journalism itself. That is the essence of an argument I made over 25 years ago, one well critiqued in the interim, but still largely true. Certainly greater scholarly attention has been paid to journalism in the intervening years — one only need refer to the important work of Michael Schudson as evidence — but the tendency for journalism to disappear into media, technology, business organizations and great figures is a dominant part of the intellectual landscape, immeasurably furthered these days by our bewitched fascination with "new media."

This tendency to bury the necessary conditions of journalism in the sufficient conditions of technology, bureaucracy and personnel has served, in the past, one overriding purpose, or so I argued then and would, to a lesser degree argue today: the desire to write a Whig interpretation of history, an interpretation reassuring us that as information flows faster and with greater abundance over wider landscapes, life somehow improves and the prospects for democracy are enhanced. Or, inversely and perversely, if one is part of the "old media" and thus on the losing side of technical change, to see everything running to red ruin because of the Internet, Bill Gates and Microsoft.

Against such a view, I have argued that it is important to understand journalism as independent of, or at least orthogonal to, technology. Journalism is a historically situated social practice rather than a machine or a medium or a publisher or a business organization. Journalism is historical because it is not preternatural; it arose under particular histori-

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cal circumstances, roughly in the 17th century. Journalism is social because, despite the pretensions of individual journalists, it is the product of many people rather than a few, shaped by collective conditions and efforts rather than individual ones. And journalism is an evolving practice, a forever "new" way of, in Stanley Cavell's happy phrase, "wording the world together." We might just as well say "imagining the world together" or, simply, representing the world as long as we keep in mind that "wording," "imagining" or "representing" is an activity or set of practices and not some ghostly happening in the head or automatic product of a printing press or a telegraph line, or television camera. Journalism is a peculiar way of using these technologies rather than the technologies themselves.

Journalism as Cultural Act

Prior — both logically and chronologically — to journalism being an institution, or business, or set of rights, or body of technology, journalism is a cultural act. There were printing presses before there was journalism; indeed, to take one minor example, there was a printing press in my native Rhode Island for 75 years before anyone found a use for it other than printing the "olds": the Bible and religious tracts, tradition and fairy tales. For journalism to come about, certain social conditions, themselves relatively independent of technology, had to come about. Principal among them was the emergence of a public. Think of the public in this case not as some abstraction but a concrete social group that started to appear in cities of the 18th century, a group that at first didn't have a name. If one wants a contemporary analogue, think of the small knots of people that have appeared outside of office buildings in recent years — now instantly identifiable as "smokers."

Similarly, the public, a group that fit no established social category, began to appear in the 18th century in specific places. Robert Darnton has identified the "Tree of Cracow" on the grounds of the Palais-Royale in 1830s Paris as one such place but the public assembled in more general areas such as the parks and street corners, pubs and coffee houses of growing cities. What bound this diverse group — artisans, merchants, litterateurs and men of letters, shopkeepers, diplomats, servants, minor members of the court — together was that they all had an interest in what was novel, new, original —news or novels. I mean interest in two senses: the news interested them; they had an aesthetic and emotional preference for it over the traditional, predictable and time-honored. They also had an interest in news because it was a necessary resource for them; they needed to know what was new in order to conduct their "business," whether their

business was writing literature, trading merchandise, selling goods, or hosting a salon. Roughly speaking then, such people were engaging in activity that had slipped out from under the control of the aristocratic court and was being conducted via the market. In turn, this new and increasingly widespread way of life necessitated involvement in what previously had been the divine right of kings, royal prerogative — *le secret de Roi* — the statecraft and political processes which regulated commerce, the arts and often the quotidian as well.

News Spoken Becomes News Written

This new social formation, the public, begins with a bare biological resource, the ability to share knowledge of new happenings with one another via the spoken word: *nouvelle a la bouche.* As literacy spread, the news spoken became the news written — *nouvelle a la main* — and eventually the news printed, first in newsletters and then, as royal authority weakened, in more public media — gazettes, journals, newspapers.

The emergence, then, of journalism — literally a day book, a collective diary of the important happenings of the day — required freedom from aristocratic rule in the name of a wider social formation, the public, and, therefore, is indistinguishable from the emergence of a new way of life — democracy. This democracy is first recognizable in the crowds gathered in urban centers for new forms of talk and the extension of what was being uttered in public in handwritten newsletters and later yet in the printed, more durable form of sheets of newsprint. That the full development of journalism was technologically dependent cannot be doubted, but note that journalism originates in conditions of speech and assembly among diverse — multi-class, multi-occupation, multi-religious groups. It represents, in Michael Oakshott's nice phrase, a particular "arrest of experience" expressing a practical need, an aesthetic appetite and a political movement.

There are a number of implications of this account of the origins of journalism. Because all such accounts inevitably contain mythical elements which can never be authoritatively demonstrated, it is the political and moral significance of the account — the precise way it casts historical fact into a meaningful framework — that should concern us most. Journalism begins at a verge between the oral and printed traditions, at the birth of modern democracies. When printing entered Western Europe, it was initially regulated by the crown through licensing. This was not because printing was of political significance but because licensing, regulated, for example, by the Stationers Company, was a general practice through which the crown generated revenue; everything was licensed. The political

significance of printing only appeared much later when it was used journalistically to report and comment upon the religious schisms and controversies that were partly bound up with the spread of markets and the outbreak of democratic sentiments.

It is no accident that the Stationers Company was particularly assiduous in its licensing and censorship of song lyrics for, at the onset of the modern world, news was carried by speech and elaborated in song. Journalism begins as an elaboration of what was being said in the oral register, generally understood as public opinion or the opinions being uttered in public. Journalism begins in speech and is about a world where "public" speaking is a common, taken-for-granted practice, though a practice undertaken in the awareness of the possibilities of writing and printing. This spirit is one of active engagement and the practices include arguing, organizing, assembling, demonstrating, petitioning and, much later, voting as well.

The same methods to control printing that were used in France and England were exercised in the colonies, though with much less effect given the difficulty of maintaining monopoly control over vast distances where daily need could not be satisfied via slow communication and distended authority. Thus, "free" public life grew more rapidly in the colonies but it was expressed in Creole versions of European public formations. Here there were no salons, not even a Tree of Cracow, but there were public houses in which publics assembled under the patronage of publicans who often became publishers.

The First Amendment in Public Life

If we take the First Amendment not as an enumeration of rights but as a later attempt to describe practice, to transform existing practice into the constitution of a form of society, then its political meaning is clearer: people were free to assemble, to speak their opinions, to write them down and circulate them. Moreover, people could not be excluded from the practice of public life on the basis of religious affiliation at a moment when heresy was a primal crime and religion constituted the main, recognized form of social division.

The First Amendment of the Constitution gave formal expression to a social condition true in different ways and degrees on both the continent and in the Americas. Less the assertion of rights, the Amendment defined and constituted the conditions, however residually deferential, of public life.

However schematic this account, it implies the following. First, journalism and democracy emerge together and in reciprocal relation. In

fact, journalism as a practice is unthinkable except in the context of democracy; journalism is usefully understood as another name for democracy. The practices of journalism are not self-justifying, they are not ends in themselves. Rather, they are justified in terms of the social consequences they engender, namely the constitution of a democratic social order. There are media everywhere just as there is communication and something resembling a news business. There just isn't much journalism because democracy alone gives rise to the social practice of journalism. Modern despotic societies, to paraphrase some lines of Charles Taylor, have advanced technology and go through the motions of journalism. Editorials appear purporting to express the opinions of the writers offered for the consideration of their fellow citizens; stories appear in newspapers and on television claiming to tell the truth about current events; mass demonstrations are organized purporting to give vent to the felt indignation of large numbers of people. All this takes place as if a genuine process were in train forming a common mind through exchange. However, the entire result is carefully controlled from the outset. Despotic journalism is an oxymoron because journalism requires the institutions of democratic life either in fact or in aspiration.

Second, journalism, as a form of cultural life, a practice of world making, is contingent, variable over time, place and circumstance. Current practice is one variable expression of a continuously changing activity. Nothing disables journalism historians more than thinking that current practice is somehow the destination to which history has directed the craft in the pursuit of ideals like truth or freedom. Journalism has a history that is more than the history of institutions or technologies or economic arrangements. Journalism has a history as a variable form of comprehending and being in the world, a mode of conduct and a form of self-understanding formed off that conduct.

Third, journalism must not only be understood as culture but as citizenship. Michael Schudson aptly says that "citizenship itself is a cultural construct," and "news [is] one feature in the construction and representation of its changing formations." I take this to be another way of saying that journalism and politics mutually form one another, they are symbiotic. Every conception of journalism and the press stitches the citizen, implicitly or explicitly, into a given role in the political formation. The question then is what role does the identification of journalism with technology make available to citizens? The role, to put too fine a point on it, envisioned by Rupert Murdoch.

What unifies the practice of journalism across time, media and organization is its democratic context and something more. Michael Oakshott defined "the world of history [as] the whole of the real world as

a comprehended under the category of the past." Stuart Adam, in an original twist on this view, argues that journalism is "the real world as a whole comprehended under the category of the present." Journalism, then, must be examined as the practices by which the real is made under the category of the present. And, as a historical fact, this making has occurred, even in the most proximate sense, only with the emergence of democratic institutions.

A "Return to Practice"

A usable history of journalism might be abbreviated as a plea for a "return to practice." One might describe the "return to practice" as an attempt to dislodge questions of technology in order to focus instead on the procedures, rules and conventions by which journalists go about their business; in short, a return to practice leads one away from abstractions to the actual doings whereby journalists make the world. Journalists do not live in a world of disembodied ideals; they live in a world of practices. These practices not only make the world, they make the journalist. Journalists are constituted in practice. So, the appropriate question is not only what kind of a world do journalists make but what kinds of journalists are made in the process? We must inquire less about the ideals of journalists and more about the spirit expressed in practice and the degree to which that spirit and practice is consistent with our needs as a democratic people.

Media are organizations or bureaucracies within which some forms of journalism are practiced. Technologies are means or instruments with which journalism is practiced. Communications is an undifferentiated social process for transferring meaning that shares some features with journalism, though not necessarily those features most important to democratic politics. But communications, media or technology are not the same thing as journalism. Journalism can be practiced in large organizations or small ones, by independent practitioners or large teams, using the human voice or hand or printing press or television camera. How and where journalism occurs is of some importance but to confuse journalism with media or communications is to confuse the fish story with the fish.

A consequence of that confusion is present daily in the media. If in the 1930s the organs of American journalism were purchased by the steel or petroleum industries — as happened other places in the world — there would have been an outcry in defense of the First Amendment and against the intrusion of basic industry into the public sphere and the appropriation of democratic forms of life. We live at a time when American journalism is being colonized by the entertainment and communica-

tions industry, an industry which structurally occupies the same role in national and international economies as did oil and steel in the 1930s. No such outcry against this appropriation can easily be mounted because of decades of identification and incorporation, in both theory and practice, of journalism with communications, with technology, with media. Journalism has lost independence as a democratic art and become mere synecdoche of the media. The emergence of the words, "media," and "communication," is the linguistic counterpart of the conversion of the First Amendment from a political right to merely an economic one, as something that establishes conditions of competition rather than securing the right of political participation.

This conversion of the press clause from the description of a way of life to a "right" possessed by an institution indirectly provided constitutional protection to technology. It literalized the meaning of "press," taking the First Amendment away from a speaking public, from its constituting role in politics. This made journalism synonymous with the technology. Journalism was no longer a practice identified with democracy but a right possessed by a technology and equated democracy with the free exercise of that right. When the meaning of Freedom of Speech and Press was further removed from political discourse and identified by the courts with art, obscenity, gesture and behavior, the line separating journalists from the media, journalism from communication, imaginative writing from technology was further erased. The responsibility for the confusion of technological fact with democratic practice must be borne by all of us, including journalism scholars.

Book Reviews

The books reviewed in this issue of American Journalism reflect the rich variety of topics capturing the attention of authors today who aim to better inform, enlighten or broaden our view of journalism and mass media history. Topics in this issue include biographies of well-known media figures, critical treatments of how newspapers covered Native Americans and how television treats Supreme Court decisions, works examining radio's beginnings and early British journalism, and reference books on editorial cartooning and press freedom through the ages. There should be, then, something here of interest for nearly everyone.

Carol Sue Humphrey reviews a book about Charlotte Curtis, and Ginger Rudeseal Carter looks at a recent biography of Ralph McGill. Regna Darnell examines John Coward's book about how the American press portrayed the Indian in the nineteenth century. The electronic media are represented by two books reviewed here. John Ferré takes a look at a book about the declining coverage of Supreme Court news on television, and William James Ryan reviews a book examining how radio became a commercial medium. The British press is represented by a book about the Grub Street parson-journalists of the 18th and 19th centuries, reviewed by J.O. Baylen. Two reference books are included in this issue's reviews as well. Bryan Thornton reviews Paul Somers, Jr.'s book about editorial cartooning and caricature, and the Editor's Choice this month is a volume by Louis Ingelhart examining press freedom developments around the world.

This issue also marks the transition from David Spencer's tenure as book review editor to mine. David's careful and exhaustive guidance over the past year has ensured that the changeover has gone smoothly and that the quality of the journal's book review section maintains the high standards he set. Thank you, David.

>Tamara Baldwin, Book Review Editor

✓Editor's Choice

Press and Speech Freedoms in the World, from Antiquity Until 1998: A Chronology

By Louis E. Ingelhart, Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut and London, 1998. 307 pp.

In a companion volume to his *Press and Speech Freedoms in America, 1619-1995: A Chronology*, which chronicled developments and regressions

in press and speech freedoms in the United States, Louis Edward Ingelhart has brought together in one useful volume a chronology of similar incidents and events in the development of press and speech freedoms in the rest of the world. In 16 chapters organized by time and often by theme, the author presents literally thousands of brief statements and anecdotes that amply illustrate that even at the opening of the 21st century, battles for freedom of speech and of the press continue to be fought daily in many parts of the world.

Ingelhart has taken on a daunting challenge in this compilation, and he readily admits in the preface that he has been selective in what he chose to include, selecting those events he felt most significant. Understandably perhaps, events in England get the most attention in the work. Six of the chapters are devoted entirely to England. For instance, Chapter Two, titled "England Struggles into the Communication Age," covers the years 9 A.D. through 1599 and includes such information as King Edward I's attempt to obliterate Scotland in 1298 by burning the library of Restennoth, which housed books brought from Rome in 400 A.D. by King Fergus II, and Queen Elizabeth's fury at John Stubbes in 1579 for writing a pamphlet speculating about her possible marriage.

One of the most interesting chapters in the compilation is Chapter 15, which covers 1995 through 1998 and draws much of its information from the journal *Index on Censorship* published by the Writers and Scholars International organization of Lancaster House in England, an organization that monitors press freedom throughout the world. Ingelhart organizes information from this source country by country, and it is this chapter that gives the most chilling snapshot of the status of press freedom in the modern world. From a glance at this information, which includes many references to imprisonment of journalists, book banning, physical attacks on media personnel, and governmental action against the media, it is clear that in too many parts of the world, freedom of speech and the press have not progressed very far since antiquity.

The last chapter addresses the future of the world's freedom of expression and looks at organizations such as the International Press Institute and the United Nations and their efforts to foster this freedom. The chapter begins by detailing actions by the League of Nations in 1927 to improve telecommunications and limit censorship and concludes with information provided by Reporters Without Borders regarding the number of journalists killed or jailed in 1995.

While this book is valuable, some also may find it frustrating. Because of space limitations, Ingelhart does not provide much context for many of the events he includes in the book. Readers expecting to get the full story on these events will be disappointed. Ingelhart relies heavily on

secondary sources, ranging from well-known works such as Frederick S. Siebert's *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* to calendars published by the Freedom Forum, so readers should not expect to find primary sources for each entry in the notes that accompany each chapter or in the Selected Bibliography he includes in the volume.

This book is most valuable as a handy, one-volume collection of anecdotes and one-line descriptions of many of the struggles of press and speech freedoms humankind has witnessed and endured since antiquity. For the teacher of a journalism history or communication law course, the book provides impressive examples and information to enliven and enrich lectures on press freedom topics. For the researcher, the volume can serve as a starting point by providing possible research topics and clues to where to begin the search for further information. For the reader interested in getting a sense of the "big picture" of free speech and press struggles throughout time, this volume fits the bill nicely.

>Tamara K. Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

Editorial Cartooning and Caricature: A Reference Guide

By Paul P. Somers, Jr., Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1998. 224 pp.

Paul Somers has written an invaluable book, filled with interesting nuggets about the history of editorial cartooning. For example, readers learn that Benjamin Franklin is the father of editorial cartooning in America. Franklin drew and printed the first American political cartoon, "Non Votis," in 1747 to accompany his anti-British pamphlet, *Plain Truth*. Then in 1754 Franklin created the famous "Join or Die" snake editorial cartoon. It urged rebel states to unite against Great Britain, or face being chopped up in little pieces like a captured snake. That famous cartoon, Somers writes, was the first to appear in an American newspaper. It was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. But, despite being the creator of a new medium of expression, Franklin got no respect from his editorial cartoon "child"; four out of the eight subsequent editorial cartoons published in U.S. newspapers viciously lampooned Franklin. How's that for gratitude from an offspring?

Historians of all stripes should find such colorful and entertaining material on the history of editorial cartoons fascinating, especially people who teach journalism history or editorial writing. Typically, students in such classes often will ask when the first editorial cartoon appeared and who first came up with the idea of putting funny pictures on the sober

editorial page. Somers' work provides a solid reference to consult for answers. For providing this material in a lively and easy-to-read manner, Somers deserves thanks from a wide range of scholars. Those seeking a simple chronology of the development of editorial cartoons, for example, can find that information here. But this book, which covers editorial cartoons from 1747 to 1998, also can be useful for those who want to know about the troublemaking aspect of cartooning, when the art was used by leftists, Marxists, radicals, subversives and propagandists to stir people up and ignite passions. Somers provides that information and more.

In addition, those who seek a thorough bibliography and list of places to turn for more information about cartooning can find an extensive list of such material in Somers' work, including dissertations on the subject and historical periodicals. The author also provides readers with a summary of general histories of editorial cartooning; specialized, regional and international histories; and even biographies and autobiographies of famous cartoonists. In addition, a section of the book describes where to find histories that detail the relationship between underground publications and editorial cartoons throughout the years. There's an explanation of how radical women's groups and a variety of ethnic, religious and political minority groups have used editorial cartoon to further their aims in both the mainstream and underground venues.

Unfortunately, however, this book has one frustrating flaw: aside from Franklin's famous snake drawing on the frontispiece, no cartoons accompany the text. This is like a book about the joy of surfing that doesn't once show an enchanted surfer rushing down the face of a giant curl. If a picture is worth a thousand words, imagine how a thousand cartoons could have enlivened this book and made the work more accessible to average readers. It's not that an analysis and history of editorial cartoons can't stand by itself. But a carefully selected sample of the art under discussion would drive home some of the points being made about the power of the medium.

Why no cartoons? There may have been a problem with copyright releases. Then too, perhaps Somers was fighting to have his academic work taken seriously and not dismissed as mere entertainment. But how can a discussion of Thomas Nast not include at least a few examples of Nast's vicious depiction of Boss Tweed? And how much more power would be lent to an analysis of the cartoons of the radical *Masses* and *Liberator*, which depicted the "perfect soldier" as a muscular giant with no head?

Despite this drawback, there is no question that Somers *Editorial Cartooning* book offers a goldmine for anyone who has any curiosity

about and a need to learn more about editorial cartoons. The book is neatly divided into five sections that include the following: historical background; history and criticism; a list of anthologies and reprints; reference works and periodicals; and finally, a guide to research collections of cartoons held in public and private institutions. From an academic point of view there is nothing missing in this study. Ultimately, as Somers admits in his preface, "it is one thing to read historians' accounts of what a devious leader President [the name of your choice here] was and another to see and sometimes to feel right in your belly page after page of cartoons dramatizing that opinion." This book could have been strengthened with a few examples of belly punches delivered by cartoon.

>Brian Thornton, Northern Illinois University

The Newpaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-90

By John M. Coward. University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, 1999. 245 pp.

This volume tackles complex and often awkward questions of journalistic representation and its consequences for public opinion. Coward's depiction of ambiguously alternating American stereotypes of noble versus evil/murdering savages, ideologically motivated by the myth of Manifest Destiny, seems at first glance to constitute an unmitigated indictment. Despite progress toward contemporary standards of reporting and editorializing over the 19th century, ambivalence of American popular culture toward the first peoples of the continent cannot be relegated to the past. Coward tells a story in which there is little to be proud. The standard of objectivity was absent, with implicit racism taken for granted by reporters and readers alike. The Indians were in the way of progress, the very core of American destiny.

Representations were couched, throughout the century, in terms of ethnocentric categories relevant to American entrepreneurs, politicians, and settlers. The missing character in this reporting is the Indian. To Coward's apparent dismay, many reporters used fiction to model the generic Indian, especially the romanticized vanishing Indian of James Fenimore Cooper's novels. Coward retrojects a standard of fairness, based on omission of context and motive from Native news reports. Indians acted as they did, usually violently, due to their nature rather than the accumulated wrongs done them: "there was no 'Indian side' to the Indian wars . . . because Indians had no legitimate standing in the public conception of the West."

Alas, the political correctness of our own time does not apply in the 19th century; rather, "the story that emerged in the press reduced the disaster to a simple case of good vs. evil — an evil defined according to a specific set of cultural values" largely irrelevant to those of the Indians themselves. The key terms, in Coward's present-ist evaluation of the scenarios he chooses as case studies are "unfortunately" not as balanced as one might hope (firsthand knowledge of Indians which did not result in "appreciation for the variety of richness of Indian life") and "unfair" (a summary which lumps all Indians together). "Incredibly" occasionally fills a similar apologetic function, when Coward cannot countenance such unfairness and myopia; after a diatribe against the merciless savages, an Indian correspondent "claimed, incredibly, that he was not an Indian hater."

Representations usually avoided distinguishing particular tribes, albeit the Cherokee were "good Indians" at the time of their "unfair" removal in the 1830s, as were the peaceful Ponca, the "civilized savages" who were prevented from returning to their homeland in 1879. Both were indisputably treated shabbily by the government, allowing the press to focus public opinion toward ameliorating their lot.

Some things changed over seven decades, largely as a result of the Civil War and the ensuant professionalization of journalism. Antebellum newspapers were a mixed bag, with minimal national standards. The major sources were letters from persons in (relatively close) contact with newsworthy events and "a free informal system of newspaper exchanges." Facts could rarely be verified and contradictions between successive stories were commonplace. Lack of standardization, however, had a positive side, producing some sympathetic and nuanced stories. In the 1830s, the Seminole wars in Florida evoked images of violence and threat to American expansion, but Indian Removal, particularly of the Cherokees from Georgia, evoked considerable sympathy. Coward's sampling of nationwide coverage illuminates the local and national interests at stake.

The vituperative anti-Indian editorials and news coverage of entrepreneur, Colorado statehood promoter, and editor William N. Byers of the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* arguably precipitated the massacre of 200 Cheyennes and Arapahos at Sand Creek in 1864. The resulting scandal destroyed careers and demonstrated limits to publicly acceptable militia conduct.

Post-war American journalism depended increasingly on the telegraph; rapid but often inaccurate news bulletins lacked context because of the costs of the new technology. Newspapers banded together to support professional reporters; the Associated Press was founded in 1846 and the

Western Associated Press in the early 1860s. Firsthand experience and investigative journalism gradually emerged as desirable standards. Professionalization, however, had its downside, standardizing news content and downplaying context. Newspapers were becoming more competitive, with the journalist emerging as heroic adventure writer.

Newly unemployed war correspondents became Indian correspondents, stressing the blood and gore their audiences had come to expect. The so-called Fetterman massacre near Fort Laramie in 1867 painted the Sioux as villains for successfully ambushing 80 soldiers. "Massacre," in the dual senses of Indian victory and killing of non-combatants, demonized Indians.

Indian news was presented in terms of "framing practices" for generic events. The Fetterman Massacre provided a template for Custer's last stand at the Battle of Little Big Horn. Standing Rock Lakota Chief Sitting Bull was constructed as the quintessential Indian villain — as the murderer of General Custer in 1876, as symbol of Indianness in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show during the 1880s, and in his arrest and murder in 1890. Despite all the coverage, Sitting Bull remained alien beyond comprehensibility.

>Regna Darnell, University of Western Ontario

Ralph McGill: A Biography

by Barbara Barksdale Clowse. Mercer University Press: Macon, Georgia, 1998. 315 pp.

Twenty-eight minutes. That's how long it took veteran *Atlanta Constitution* editor Ralph McGill to write what became his most famous column. "A Church, A School" was cited by the Pulitzer Prize committee in 1959 for its impact on the Atlanta community; the column is still discussed today for its insight into the implications of this act of violence during the Civil Rights movement in the late 1950s. In her book *Ralph McGill: A Biography*, Barbara Barksdale Clowse presents what she calls a "narrative biography," tracing the life and work of McGill through his writings and his personal papers, and through personal interviews with family and friends. The result includes interesting facts (like the 28-minute fact, contributed by longtime assistant Grace Lundy Tackett in a personal interview) and an updated view of "the conscious of the South."

Getting longtime associates like Celestine Sibley, Jack Tarver, and Gene Patterson "on the record" added a personal dimension to this book.

("He won't budge even if you shout at him if he thinks he's right," according to Sibley.) Certainly it is filled with excellent primary source material, much never before used material from McGill's papers at Emory University. For the record, the book traces the life and career of Ralph Waldo Emerson McGill, from his days at Vanderbilt University (and its fine student newspaper, *The Hustler*) and later, *The Banner*, to his eventual career at the *Atlanta Constitution*, to his death. Clowse tells of McGill's move from the sports desk to the editorship of the paper. The story of McGill is told here, from birth on February 5, 1898, to his sudden death February 3, 1969.

Clowse writes that the book "follows McGill's life story as it unfolded for him." But while the book follows the story, it doesn't delve very deep into it. The 28-minute factoid is a prime example of that trait. Clowse puts information on the table, but she doesn't try to analyze or critique it. (Was this a short or long time for McGill to write? There are references to his writing a lot, very quickly, but there's no analysis of the occasions when this speed came into play. And the Pulitzer came very late. She discusses a blacklist but doesn't go into detail.) In fact, Clowse barely cites or discusses McGill's writings in any depth at all, choosing instead to focus on interviews, letters, and speeches.

For example, while discussing McGill's promotion to the publisher of *The Constitution* in May 1960, Clowse writes that McGill's "writing seemed more forthright. He did less dissembling." She goes on to write "On May 14 his column stated flatly that all business should abandon Jim Crow and that most southerners preferred desegregation to turmoil." Clowse does not, however, offer excerpts from what had to be a controversial column. She also does not try to dissect the importance of the moment as reflected by the "conscious," in his own words. There are other examples. When citing "A Church, A School," Clowse doesn't bring more than a sentence of McGill's poetic and prophetic words to the reader. Certainly this column exists in other works; however, something this legendary deserves a couple of extra lines.

Clowse also paints the work of Southern editors of the time with a broad brush. Save a couple of references to Harry Ashmore and mere name-drops of Hodding Carter, Clowse portrays McGill as the only white Southern editor writing anything substantive about race. She notes many times that he was formerly a "Southern apologist" in his writing, but she failed to illustrate this point or the eventual shift to "Southern conscious." Finally, there has to be "more" to Ralph McGill. Clowse shows a life that certainly wasn't easy, but she makes it look easy enough. There had to be more to the drinking, the travel, the spiritual and religious rebirth, the

ultimate conversion to champion of equality. Clowse tells us of a man who is wide but not deep. A biography of such a great Southern journalist deserves deep or at least, deeper scrutiny.

>Ginger Rudeseal Carter, Georgia College & State University

Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920 - 1934

By Susan Smulyan. Smithsonian Institution Press : Washington, ,1996. 223 pp.

If broadcast radio is to survive the interlacing threads of mass media mergers, it may need to reinvent itself again, as it did in the 1950s when television stole its show, and also, as Susan Smulyan notes, in the 1920s when the "radio trust" took over.

In *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920-1934*, Smulyan tells concisely how broadcasting came to be as it is in the United States, dependent as it is on a combination of long-distance communication technologies, powerful commercial interests with political clout, industry-friendly federal regulation, and advertising income. The latter, she argues, was essential.

Basically, radio became a national advertising medium in the United States. The key words are *national* and *advertising*. (Local programming went underground until the TV era, then resurfaced with the simplistic pop music format to preserve radio as an advertising medium.) In the late 1920s, national networks began programming designed to hook middle-income listeners to hear national advertising. The best frequencies were federally allocated to local network affiliates and network O&Os which carried the bulk of national advertising; independents were allocated poorer frequencies, allowed less power, and often granted only day-time operation. What the radio industrialists and regulators created, all commercial electronic media have since co-opted. This may not be news to anyone in North America. But how it developed may be a revelation to anyone who is neither a media historian nor an advertising old-timers.

Smulyan's most important contribution may be her well-documented support of her thesis that American radio did not need to become what it became. It was not a naturally evolving creature of American capitalism, she argues. Neither the early Washington Radio Conference participants (including regional radio station entrepreneurs), nor the listening public preferred advertising over other income sources. Secretary of Commerce

Herbert Hoover, as most radio historians know, did not favor advertising. Perhaps surprisingly, neither did advertisers nor advertising agencies. And, although indirect advertising was evident early, even the pioneer radio station owners across the country, Smulyan correctly notes, did not initially want direct advertising.

Rather, it became an advertising medium, says Smulyan, because of "the elaborate, calculated campaign to promote broadcast advertising, beginning in 1928" which was used to persuade even advertising professionals that this was the best way to go. She argues persuasively that most Americans inside and outside the radio industry and retail marketing businesses did have to be persuaded. And, in spite of other less intrusive commercial options, we all were persuaded, and remain so. Consequently, ad agencies determined programming goals and content. High hopes for long distance technologies to restore "a broad moral and political consensus to America" were not realized.

Had there been a different income source, would distinctly different programming have been fostered? What we got was a homogenized pablum written, cast and produced by advertising agencies selling nationally marketed products. Nothing risky; nothing narrowly ethnic or esoteric, with little focus on geographically localized interests. Radio programming became a marketing medium to deliver consumers to advertisers, not a medium to serve the interests and needs of the public. Smulyan refutes those who say advertising saved radio.

To be sure, there was educational and informational programming, although even that was targeted to "markets," such as cooking shows for middle-class, stay-at-home women with families. Smulyan describes the role of early educational radio advocates in both programming and legislative lobbying efforts, and comments on present issues with a shot at National Public Radio.

Radio didn't become a serious journalism medium until the need for timely news emerged during World War II. Smulyan's description of the press-radio war and subsequent rise of news commentators helps explain newspaper publishers' fear of competition and loss of advertising income to the new electronic order (what else is new?).

Perhaps inspired by Susan Douglas' seminal work, *Inventing American Broadcasting, 1899-1922*, Smulyan helps extend that history into its commercial programming eras. In spite of her title, Smulyan fortunately does not limit her commentary to 1920-1934; she shows how advertising continues to shape American broadcasting in the mixed-media age. Smulyan's work is based on a combination of primary and secondary sources, carefully documented in endnotes. Unfortunately, there is not a separate bibliography. Her feminist rhetorical style and historical revision-

ism maybe a welcome balance to other radio histories, although a propensity to editorialize or explain the obvious (as in racism, sexism) seems unnecessary in the late '90s.

Otherwise, this is a comprehensive little volume (only 168 pages of text) which should be in public and educational libraries. It would serve well as supplemental reading for undergraduate and graduate media history and advertising courses. In fact, for those who believe a good grounding in history helps meet present responsibilities and future challenges, this could be a primary radio programming text when combined with a practical how-to-do-it.

The only missing element is research about the contributions of local and regional broadcasting. This would not seem necessary for a national history, except that much of what happened nationally originated locally. AT&T's WEAF experiment may well have been the most obvious origin of radio time-sales, as Smulyan notes(citing AT&T's Banning). Yet, the pre-advertising programming that caught the general listening public's attention was created by innovative local broadcasters in cities across the nation, broadcasting nationally on powerful, locally owned stations. Smulyan cannot be expected to include this rich history because it is tedious to locate — no national history includes more than a few anecdotes, and university presses and scholarly journals are reluctant to publish it — and few readers would miss it.

Nevertheless, a lot of radio history is packed into this brief and readable scholarly work, making it an accessible and valuable contribution to our understanding of how a population of rich cultural and ethnic diversity became a marketplace of homogenized commercialism.

>William James Ryan, Rockhurst University

Television News and the Supreme Court: All the News That's Fit to Air?

By Elliot E. Slotnick & Jennifer A. Segal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 264 pp.

A nationwide poll conducted in 1995 found that 59 percent of Americans could name three Stooges but that only 17 percent could name three Supreme Court justices. Political scientists Elliot Slotnick of Ohio State University and Jennifer Segal of University of Kentucky blame this ignorance on both network television and the Supreme Court. Using interviews from CBS, NBC and the Supreme Court, together with content analyses of network broadcasts from 1978, 1989 and 1994, the authors supply concrete support to CBS reporter Fred Graham's conten-

tion that "network television coverage of the Supreme Court has atrophied to the point that it's not informing the public very much about what's going on."

The decline in coverage is remarkable. The networks covered only one-fourth of the cases the Supreme Court decided in its 1989 term. Five years later the proportion of cases covered had shrunk to only one-fifth, and the total number of stories aired was cut in half. The only consolation was the fact that stories grew slightly longer. Not all issues are equal, and that certainly applies to network coverage of the Supreme Court. According to Slotnick and Segal, decisions about economic issues seldom make the evening news. But cases involving criminal justice or the First Amendment do, especially if many briefs are filed, if the decision is handed down in June and if the justices are divided.

To explain how television news handles the Supreme Court cases that it does cover, Slotnick and Segal turn to the extensive reporting of *Regents of the University of California* v. *Bakke* (1978), an affirmative action case, and *Webster* v. *Reproductive Health Services* (1989), an abortion case. They find three common themes:

Personalities – Because people make for more dramatic coverage than principles, TV news frames its reports around individual personalities whenever possible. This bias favored Allan Bakke, who was referenced twice as much as UC, Davis, his faceless institutional opponent. In the case of Webster, which had no individual litigant to focus on, television news turned to activists on both sides of the abortion controversy, linking them to the court case in five out of six stories.

Predictions – Television news is preoccupied with the legacy of Supreme Court decisions. "Television journalists," say Slotnick and Segal, "play the role of 'spin doctors,' often making sweeping statements about the case and its potential importance." Half the stories about the Bakke case included predictions, many comparing that case to *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. The same was true for coverage of the Webster case, which was full of speculation over the effect on *Roe* v. *Wade*.

Winners and losers – Coverage of Supreme Court decisions resembles coverage of sports, elections or other contests, emphasizing who won and who lost more than the principles upon which the decisions were based. Allan Bakke was proclaimed the winner in his case against University of California, Davis. Coverage downplayed the fact that the Supreme Court also supported affirmative action. Reports of the Webster decision had the pro-life movement winning a battle in the continuing war over abortion.

Even more worrisome than these biases are the persistent errors that the networks make in covering the Supreme Court. According to Slotnick and Segal, television is prone to misreporting whenever the Supreme

Court refuses to hear a case. Three out of four such stories are either ambiguous or inaccurate, as when they call denial of *certiorari* a "decision," a "ruling," or a "refusal to overturn." According to Supreme Court Public Information Officer Toni House, "Every time Dan Rather says 'The Supreme Court today upheld . . . ' I want to smack him . . . . He has got to know better. He's been around too long."

For Slotnick and Segal, the responsibility for improving network coverage of the Supreme Court rests not on the media, but rather on the court itself. More cases would get covered if the court changed its calendar to issue decisions more evenly – rather than several a day, particularly at the end of the term. And if Supreme Court justices made themselves more available to the media, viewers could get an inside look at how the court reaches its decisions. But most importantly, allowing television cameras in the courtroom would add an important visual dimension to the coverage and make stories more attractive to the networks.

As Slotnick and Segal show in their data-rich, but plodding analysis, these recommendations would require a sea change in the court's collective mindset, a change the justices are in no hurry to make.

>John P. Ferré, University of Louisville

Unholy Pursuits. The Wayward Parsons of Grub Street

By A. S. Turner. The Book Guild Ltd.: Lewes, 1998. 224 pp.

As A. S. Turner asserts, this is "A book about 'moonlighting' parsons" — the Georgian era clergymen who abandoned their parishes "to dabble in secular excitements, . . . libel, blackmail, forgery and treason." Two of their number, the satiric poet, the Rev. Charles Churchill, and the Rev. John Home Tooke, were however valiant fighters for liberty during the reign of George III. But dominating this study is the long forgotten parson, the Rev. Henry Bate Dudley, "chief of the 'parsonical banditti' who ran the *Morning Post* in its disreputable infamy . . . " He fought several duels, lost a fortune in dubious investments, successfully blackmailed the Prince Regent (later George IV) and despite all his "sins," ended up "a fine old respected English gentleman."

Dudley's successor on the *Morning Post* was the Rev. William Jackson, who had served as the "jackal" of the bigamous Duchess of Kingston. As editor of the *Public Leader*, Jackson "venomously pursued" and hounded the errant actors David Garrick and Samuel Foote, wrote "scabrous" verse denouncing the moral state of the nation, calling for a "heavenly plague" which would destroy sodomites (while sparing whores), and finally committed suicide after being convicted of high treason. The

Rev. Dr William Dodd, an eminent preacher, promoter of good causes, and friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, was also a Grub Street parson — a clergyman-journalist — whose hanging at Tyburn in 1777 for gross forgery made him a *cause celebre*. Among the ranks of "moonlighting parsons" was also the Rev. John Trusler, the "universal publisher," who sold batches of handwritten sermons to clergymen for use in their pulpits on the Sabbath.

The parson-journalists in this study flourished during the reign of George III and the Regency, "when the press was not known for its licence . . . in . . . the contentious, scurrilous, mud-slinging world of Grub Street . . . " It was a time when, "In the pecking order of society the journalist rated somewhere between the apothecary and cat skinner." Then, as now, journalism was a rough trade. Nevertheless, the ambitious parson in and near London, overeducated and underemployed, made use of his talents by dabbling in the dangerous excitements of journalism. All this and more are dealt with in this book, following a most interesting "Glimpse of Grub Street," in chapters presented in a loose chronological order. Thus, the Rev. William Jackson's career occupies two chapters, and the discussion of the career and work of the Rev. Dr. Bate Dudley and Horne Tooke are spread across 11 chapters in the study.

Grub Street, the forerunner of Fleet Street, located in the Moorfields district of London, was inhabited by booksellers, hacks, shady writers, pamphleteers, plagiarists, pornographers, balladists, translators and proof readers who gave the street (originally Milton Street) its name. By extension, the name Grub Street came to be applied to the rising newspaper industry and during this period was dominated by bookseller-publishers. They established newspapers to profit from advertisements, to advance the cause of a political party or faction, to pander to (or exasperate) the government of the day, to denigrate and mock literary enemies, and occasionally to advance the career of some actress-mistress.

Although the number of newspapers greatly increased during George III's long reign (much to his displeasure) their circulation (by modem standards) was small (the *Public Advertiser* sold about 3,000 daily). By far most of the daily papers concentrated on current politics. In this direction, Turner declares that "the ugliest blemish" on Grub Street newspapers was in the publication of scandalous, often invented, short "home intelligence" paragraphs relating to current politics. The publishers and editors of these newspapers were "unhampered" by any code of conduct and "Probably the best thing Grub Street did . . . was . . . exposing insolvence, jobbery and malpractice in high places" — in other words, muckraking.

Gradually, albeit all too slowly, Grub Street evolved into Fleet Street "with a semblance of editorial standards and a recognizable editorial

structure." For this development, Turner accords much credit to James Perry, who bought the *Morning Chronicle* in 1789 and managed it so successfully that by 1810 the paper was selling 7,000 copies daily. Other pioneers in the development of modern daily journalism were Daniel and Peter Stuart, who purchased the ailing *Morning Post* and by 1803 made it a highly successful enterprise; John Alexander Thwaites, who facilitated the recovery of the *Morning Herald* from the excesses of reckless muckraking; and John Walter II who made *The Times* shed its early aura of irresponsibility, established a greatly respected foreign news service, and launched Henry Crabb Robinson as the first known staff war correspondent. Above all, British journalism ceased "to be awash with seedy, needy — and sometimes greedy — clerics . . . " who gave it such a bad name.

A. S. Turner merits praise for producing a most interesting account of a relatively neglected aspect of the history of the British press during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. We now know more about "the Wayward Parsons of Grub Street."

>J. O. Baylen, Eastbourne, England

A Woman of the Times: Journalism, Feminism, and the Career of Charlotte Curtis

By Marilyn S. Greenwald. Ohio University Press: Athens, 1999. 251 pp.

Marilyn Greenwald's biography of Charlotte Curtis, *A Woman of the Times*, is an interesting study of a fascinating and important figure in the history of American journalism. Curtis, as the first female associate editor of the *Times*, pioneered the role of women in modern journalism in many ways. She fought against the stereotypes of women journalists and won, but not easily and not without criticism. She developed her own brand of feminism that helped her succeed, but she also emphasized loyalty above everything else and this led to problems when the female journalists of the *Times* filed a lawsuit which Curtis refused to join.

Growing up in Columbus, Ohio, Charlotte Murray Curtis attended the Columbus School for Girls and then went off to Vassar College. Both these environments encouraged her to work hard and make a difference in the world. Her entry into the field of journalism came as a result of a summer job. She worked for the *Columbus Citizen* following her freshman year in college. Curtis soon realized she had found her niche. She continued to work for the *Citizen* during the summers throughout her college years and accepted a full-time job following graduation. Before her departure in 1961, she had become the paper's society editor. Her decade at the *Citizen* proved important and influential. While there, she per-

fected her writing style that depended heavily on "direct quotes" to present her subject and she learned about the workings and culture of a newsroom and what it would take for her to succeed in that environment.

In 1961, Curtis became the home furnishings reporter for *The New York Times*. She would remain at the *Times* for the rest of her career, moving from reporter for the women's page to the society section in 1963. Her society page stories caustically uncovered the hypocrisy of the rich and famous and quickly earned her a reputation for bluntness in her reporting. Her pieces mixed political and social commentary, something that had not been done before. Through the 1960s, Curtis became increasingly influential on the paper, primarily through her friendship with important editors such as Clifton Daniel. Curtis succeeded partially because she fit into the social world of people like Daniel and Albert Ochs Sulzberger, the publisher of the *Times*. She became women's news editor in 1965 and then editor of the op-ed page in 1974. She ended her career as a columnist for the *Times*.

Throughout her career, Curtis seemed to exist in two worlds. She got along well with the men at the *Times*, primarily because she worked by the same standards they did. "She worked in a man's profession, was driven professionally and worked long hours, had a cynical nature, and loved talking politics." But she also fit the typical description of a woman in this era: "She picked her battles carefully, was non-confrontational, and rarely made waves." Curtis developed a personal feminism that supported job and economic equality, but accepted gender differences in other areas.

This dualism is probably best reflected in criticisms she and her society reporters received during the 1970's -- feminists criticized them for not working to get women's news in more prominent sections of the paper, while other women urged that no changes be made because they were comfortable with the current format of the section. In many ways, this was a no-win situation. Curtis' dilemma over the interaction between the role of journalist and feminist reached its height when the women of the *Times* filed a sex discrimination lawsuit in 1974. Curtis felt she could not join the suit because of her position as a top editor at the paper. Her loyalty to the paper won out over her loyalty to friends and co-workers. Some people never forgave her for this "betrayal."

Curtis served as op-ed editor for eight years, and then became a *Times* columnist in 1982. Many saw this as a betrayal of Curtis and her long loyalty to the paper. Her four years as a columnist were not oppressive and her writing did not live up to its earlier standards. Part of this was due to Curtis' declining health. She returned to Columbus in 1986 following the recurrence of cancer and died there on April 16, 1987.

Friends and colleagues have since tried to categorize Curtis' journalistic career. Most agreed that her different writing style helped to make the *Times* a better paper. Because she shunned the limelight and did not engage in self-promotion, many people miss the impact of her bold style of writing in the society pages and her efforts to open the op-ed page to "ordinary people with ordinary problems." Curtis' efforts clearly served as "one link of a chain that led to change," but her "influence was subtle" and often gets overlooked.

Greenwald's study of the life and impact of Charlotte Curtis provides an interesting look at an intriguing journalist who bridged the gaps created by gender and profession. Although not always successful in her efforts, Curtis did well and her life provides a fascinating look into the conflicts that existed for female journalists during the years of advances in the newsroom and strides forward in other areas. These did not mesh well for Charlotte Curtis and she shied away from the radicalism of the women's rights movement while still pushing for economic equality on the job, a position clearly shown in Greenwald's thoughtful biography. This book would be useful to anyone interested in the role of women journalists or how journalism has changed in the 20th century.

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